The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 5, 1894.

The Week.

THE Senate is ready now to go into general debate on the tariff bill. The time already lost cannot be regained. The bad effect of delay is twofold: it prolongs the uncertainty and stagnation of business, and it gives the country the impression that the Democratic party does not know its own mind. The contrast between the business-like activity of the House and the floundering movements of the Senate is very striking. This difference is what might be expected when we look at the chiefs of the finance committees of the two houses—Mr. Wilson, a young man of education and of action, a thinker, with not the smallest trace of the demagogue in his composition, and on the other hand Dan Voorhees, a spoils politician of the ante-war period, who, although he has been in public life more than thirty years, has never identified himself with any public question whatever, least of all with any question of finance. The contrast between these two men is exactly typical of the proceedings in the two houses. If the Democratic party goes to defeat this fall, that result will be due more to the ineptitude of the persons who have charge of the tariff bill in the Senate than to any other cause. The bill ought to have been passed by this time, or, if not passed, the onus of further delay ought to be distinctly on the Republicans.

Speaker Crisp's decision to decline the Senatorship offered him by the Governor of Georgia is clearly in the interest of his party and the public service. The personal sacrifice involved is very likely only temporary, while the avoidance of a reorganization of the House at this time is of the highest importance. Mr. Crisp is nearer to being a leader of his party in the House than anybody else, and could not be spared at present. No such emergency is likely to arise in the near future, as no party is likely to have a majority of 100, with a wild and irresponsible element all the while threatening to make trouble. Whatever else next fall's elections may result in, they will certainly cut down a goodly proportion of the fungous growths that have been ornamenting the congressional dunghill for the past two sessions. Their present propensity to mischief is doubtless due to the consciousness that it is their last chance, as the places that now know them shall speedily know them no more.

The true inwardness of the interest manifested by the Home Market Club people in the Alabama campaign is exposed in the statement that Kolb, while nominally running for the Governorship, is really aiming at the United States Senatorship which will fall vacant next March. In other words, the high-tariff men of New England are raising money "as quietly as possible" to secure a Southern Legislature which will give them another vote for McKinleyism in the upper branch of Congress. It is purely a matter of business.

Never was there an administration which threw away so many chances to get glory at bargain prices. The opportunity to tweak John Bull's nose in Brazil was simply enough to make a Jingo's mouth water, and no end of able newspaper correspondents and jurists were quick to point it out; but the old fellow got off without a single insult. Then there was a noble chance for genuine American diplomacy in the Bluefields incident; and by loud protests that they were "ready" and "vigilant," and by sending off a ship or two before they knew what had actually occurred, the authorities at Washington could have enrolled themselves among the number of true patriots. So, too, in the matter of the Bering Sea regulations, it would have been so easy to let it be known that we would stand no nonsense, and to have brought England to her knees in the newspapers. But, alas! the State Department seems hopelessly given over to humdrum. It waits for advices before going to war, and actually takes it for granted that there is such a thing as good faith on the part of the English Government and such a thing on ours as dignity without bluster. It must be admitted that our foreign relations move on peaceably and prosperously under such spiritless methods, but the wasted opportunities are enough to make the earth lie heavy on certain physically and politically defunct statesmen.

The decision of Judge Edwards of the Supreme Court, in the contempt proceedings against the Hill-Maynard Board of State Canvassers of 1891, puts the final mark of fraud upon them for aiding Hill in his theft of the Senate. The judge declares that they are guilty of contempt because they canvassed the Mylod return in disregard of the decision of the Court of Appeals. If they had not canvassed that return, they would not have enabled the Hill-Maynard conspirators to consummate their theft. Maynard, it will be remembered, was present when the contempt was committed, and sat in silence when a word from him as to the whereabouts of the missing and legal return would have made the false and illegal canvass impossible. The members of the Board of Canvassers will have to pay the penalty fixed by the law, at least $250 fine, but they ought to compel Hill and Maynard to recoup them, for these two are the real culprits. What a shame it would have been to the State had this decision found Maynard occupying a seat upon the bench of its highest court! For the final verdict, placing upon the records the right interpretation of Maynard's and Hill's conduct, the people are indebted to the pertinacity and intelligent zeal of Mr. John Brooks Leavitt, who instituted the contempt proceedings, and to Mr. Alfred R. Conkling, who paid all the expenses of them.

The fate of the libel bill asked for by the newspapers has been sealed by a vote of 71 to 16. The Ainsworth bill has passed the Assembly, leaving the question of malice, where it now is and always has been, to the jury. No newspaper has ever suffered in the smallest degree from the *law* of libel since the Shipley case in 1783, when the power of passing on both the law and the facts was finally lodged in the hands of the jury. Ever since then the jury has always decided whether the libel was a libel, whether it was malicious, and what damage, if any, it had done. The judge may charge what he pleases, but as long as publication is not disproved, the defendant remains in the hands of the jury. The late newspaper libel bill was in reality an attempt to get out of the hands of the jury by making the plaintiff prove the unprovable—namely, malice. Had it succeeded, every man in the community would be at the mercy of the editors, for they would only have to deny malice to throw the plaintiff out of court. If malice cannot be inferred from a man's acts or words, he is master of the situation. What the press needs is to overcome in some manner the prejudices of jurymen, which are now all against it, and this would necessitate a very great change in the standards and management of most of our newspapers. The publishers are now the only class, not openly criminal, who deny all moral responsibility to the community for the manner in which they conduct their business, and openly proclaim that whatever they can sell they are at liberty to produce. This position, no doubt, has great pecuniary advantages, but it rouses and keeps alive a great deal of popular hostility.

"Paddy" Divver, after several months of absence from the city, resumed his duties as police justice on Sunday. He ought to devote all his energies in the immediate future to prosecuting the

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World for libel. Even he ought to be able to see that he cannot remain on the bench in silence under such an array of charges as the *World* brought against him on Monday. Either he has ground, in those charges, for swingeing damages, or his presence upon the police bench is, more than has ever been suspected, both a scandal and a public menace. If what the *World* says is true, or if half of it is true, Divver's Tammany organization in the Second Assembly District is the most formidable association of criminals, thugs, and social outcasts that was ever found in a civilized community. No one can read the list of his friends and political agents which the *World* gives, with specific biographical information in each case, without a shudder, for if the leader and organizer of this gang is sitting on the bench as a dispenser of justice, what kind of a government are the people of New York living under? Eighteen of his political workers have been sent to prison, or have been fined, or have fled from justice because of crimes committed under his leadership in the election of last November. The *World* reproduces this list, and supplements it with another which is far more appalling. There are nearly forty names in it, all belonging, says the *World*, to Divver's "friends and lieutenants," who are "among the most disreputable men in the city of New York." In a third list the *World* gives the names of forty-five of Divver's followers who are on the city pay-rolls, through the grace of Divver's "pull" with Tammany Hall.

The Swiss referendum appears to be having a "boom" in this country just now. In the Legislatures of New York and New Jersey as well as Massachusetts bills are pending looking towards its incorporation in the State Constitutions, though their authors confess that there is little hope of success at present, except in the last-mentioned State. In so far as this movement springs from a sense of our low estate politically, and from a conviction that something must be done to elevate it, no one can quarrel with it. But in so far as it places the hope of political salvation in this or any other kind of political machinery, it is to be condemned as tending to distract attention from the real seat of trouble. The politicians can never be circumvented by mere machinery. It is precisely as expert machinists that they succeed, and they could speedily master the cogs and pulleys of the referendum or initiative, or any other contrivance.

Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes has a currency plan called "joint metallism," by which "gold and silver together at ratios always based on their relative market values may be made the metallic basis of currency." The reason why Mr. Stokes proposes this plan is, he says, that the general demonetization of silver, and the great reduction in its purchasing power, "have caused a general decline in values, and an insufficient metallic basis of currency, making manufacture and trade both uncertain and dangerous." Now, this fundamental proposition of Mr. Stokes's is totally denied by the monometallists, and that is why they will never consider his plan. They say, with one of the British delegates to the Monetary Conference, that the whole silver movement is simply a preposterous attempt to keep prices up when science, art, invention, discovery are knocking them down; that the fall in silver has had no more to do with the decline in prices than the fall in wheat, and that nobody has complained or is complaining of any actual scarcity in the supply of gold. It has not shown itself anywhere. Many dozens of gentlemen in various parts of the world keep telling us that it is going to show itself by and by, and that they are lying awake at night thinking anxiously about it. But there is no sign of it. The supply of gold is increasing rapidly in answer to the increased demand for it, and we believe it may be said with safety, that nobody in any country has ever yet maintained that he was unable to get gold when he had something to exchange for it or good security to borrow it on. In fact, nothing is ever heard of the scarcity of gold in business circles. All we know about it we get from bimetallic pamphlets and speeches. The great demand for some other and cheaper kind of currency comes from gentlemen with debts to pay, but if we begin tinkering the currency in order to accommodate these gentlemen, the tinkering will last for ever.

Apropos of this, it may be said to the Boston brethren who are sounding the trumpet of alarm over silver, that it is absurd of them to stay in the bimetallic camp. Their proposition, that governments, by laying their heads together, can keep two commodities at equal value in spite of difference in quantity, in cost of production, and in market price, applies, though they do not seem to see it, to other commodities than gold and silver. It would apply just as well to copper and gold or copper and leather as to silver and gold, and is ample support for the greenback theory. There is no reason in the world, on this theory, why the governments should not discard metallic money altogether, and agree that certain stamped paper should in their dominions have a certain value in exchange. In old times, when a government adulterated the coinage—that is, ordered it to pass at a fictitious value—it acknowledged it was cheating, and locked up anybody who said anything about it. The curious feature of the bimetallic and silver craze is, that its victims want the civilized governments to do this cheating in unison, by common consent, and in the light of day. The prospect opened to the modern world by this confession of ordinarily sensible and educated men that the Government has this power over currency, it is no exaggeration to call appalling. It is ammunition of the most deadly kind for the socialist, communist, populist, and anarchist, and has the promise and potency of such monetary confusion as has never been seen in any age.

The neo-bimetallists of Boston are laying great stress on the importance to international trade of "a par of exchange" between silver and gold. For want of this par of exchange they tell us that "no matter how well the manufacturer makes his goods, no matter how judiciously the merchant disposes of them, a fall in the gold price of silver may destroy the entire profit of the transaction; may even involve the parties in loss and possible ruin." This point was urged so strongly before the British Gold and Silver Commission in 1887 that they took a good deal of pains to ascertain the facts as regarded English trade with India. They found that the evil was mostly imaginary, because, when an English merchant was about to make a sale of cotton goods, for example, to India, he settled the rate of exchange by telegraph at once, after which the fluctuations did not concern him at all. They might concern the Indian purchaser, who must wait till the goods arrived. In other words, the evils of a fluctuating exchange fell on the silver-using country. It was exactly so when we were on a paper basis from 1862 to 1879. The evils of a fluctuating exchange were visited upon us, not on Great Britain, France, and Germany. It is the same way in Italy, which is now under a suspension of specie payments. It is not the Englishman who suffers in his trade with Italy by reason of a fluctuating exchange. He calls for payment in gold, and he gets it, just as he got it from us when we were in the like predicament. How absurd, then, is it to say, as some of them do, that David A. Wells, Edward Atkinson, and others should be the last persons to oppose the bimetallic view since they were bemoaning the lack of "a normal par of exchange" so many years while we were on the paper basis. Of course they bemoaned it, but they bemoaned it for our own sake, not for the sake of England; just as they might bemoan it now if they were Mexicans instead of Americans.

The census report on farm ownership and cultivation recently published shows a noteworthy increase in the number of farms and decrease in their average size throughout the South. In the

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South Atlantic States the average number of acres to a farm decreased from 157 to 134 between 1880 and 1890. In the same States the number of farms increased 16 per cent., and the number of owners 12 per cent. Of farm tenants 44 per cent. more paid their rent in money in 1890 than 1880. All of these tendencies are in the right direction, and they show that the outlook for agriculture in the South is steadily improving.

Dr. Johnson objected to a certain critic that he had an unconquerable disposition to say something when there was nothing to be said. What other excuse can there be for those solemn moralists who are telling the public what to think of the unsavory suit for damages now pending in Washington? It is bad enough to have the filthy testimony printed broadcast, despite the appeals of the presiding judge. He is able to keep prurient spectators out of court, but he cannot keep the reporters out, or the newspapers from printing the disgusting mess. This practically lets the whole country into the court-room, and is a clear breach of public morality. Still, those who do not wish to read the stuff need not, and they and their families might escape were it not for the inevitable commentators, who take it for granted that everybody has read it and wishes to hear moralizings about it. From the indecent press this is to be expected; but the religious press, or some portion of it, has now gone into the business, and we read of several ministers who have taken it up even in the pulpit. Now all such comment is either pure platitude or outright pruriency. No man needs to be told what to think on such subjects. For a public teacher to do anything but maintain silence about them is to show that he has itching ears himself and supposes everybody else has, and to aid in the dissemination of moral poison throughout the community. Especially should the more resonant of the clergy remember that there are still some things, as there were in the time of the Apostle Paul, which are not even to be named publicly.

The editors of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science have taken the trouble to translate an article on "Justice in Political Economy," by the learned Gustav Schmoller, the head of the historical school in Germany, who had previously published it in his own *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirthschaft*. We have read it twice over, the first time with the view of getting some notion of what "justice in political economy" is, and the second time with the view of getting some notion of what Herr Schmoller thinks it is, but have failed in both cases. Never has a knotty, if not unanswerable, question been surrounded with such a cloud of vain words. His main question is: "How does it happen that economic transactions and social phenomena so often bring forth a favorable or adverse criticism which asserts that this is just and that is unjust?" He says that when he gets a correct answer to this, the rest will be easy. The correct answer to this, at all events the only possible one, would be found in the other question—"Why is nearly every man dissatisfied with his lot in life?" The criticisms of an existing economic condition, or of any economic condition, will never cease until everybody is content; and when the historical school talks of "justice," it really means content. What these men are trying for is really some means of contenting the human race. The notion that "the State" can do this, in a reading democracy, is one of the most curious of their vagaries. Says Herr Schmoller: "The State is and must be the leading intelligence, the responsible centre of public sentiment, the acme of existing moral and intellectual power." This might have been true of the State under Frederick the Great or Joseph the Second. That it will ever be true of the modern democratic state, within any period worth thinking about, is a proposition which can only make people who know something about the democratic state smile. The State with us must and will for an indefinite period represent something rather below the average popular intelligence. Congress and the legislatures of to-day fairly represent it. This for two reasons: one is that, as a rule, the men who will try to become "the State," will not be the foremost men in the community. The other is that the masses in a democracy do not like to put "superior people" (Schmollers and the like) in power, because they do not like to be looked down on by their rulers. They are best pleased with men of their own type, and through them will try their own experiments in political economy.

The anarchist bombs seem likely to have the effect in France of producing peace and quiet among nearly all people of a conservative turn. The remarkable avowal by one of the ministers, M. Spuller, the other day that the Government had given up its petty warfare against the Church, and that he personally was sorry for the part he had taken in it, shows a growing conviction that there are far more dangerous enemies to the State than "le cléricalisme." The occasion which called out the confession was a prohibition by the Mayor of St. Denis against putting a cross at the head of a grave in the cemetery. The law forbids the display of religious emblems at funerals or other processions in the streets. The mayor construed it as applying to the graves also, and in this he has been overruled. But he might have been overruled without this declaration from the ministry. The hatred of the clergy and the Church is, however, largely a Parisian emotion. In the provinces it takes the form of indifference. The village curé is not hated; he is simply not listened to by the men, but they always want him for funerals and weddings.

The sudden zeal of the French Government for the creation of a separate Ministry for the Colonies, going so far as to make it a cabinet question in the Senate, set many to wondering if there might not be more in it than appeared on the surface. There was fresh talk of serious complications with England over French claims in Indo-China, and much mysterious wagging of heads by wiseacres. But the step seems easy to account for. It was taken, doubtless, mainly as a wise administrative measure looking to the more rapid and consistent despatch of colonial business than was possible under a mere bureau of the Foreign Affairs Department. Mixed with this was probably a lurking devotion to the great principle, "The Republic, it is offices," and a willingness to make places for a few more political followers. No little fun has been poked at the new minister, M. Boulanger. He has been Senator for the department of the Meuse, not exactly a colonial department, and is president of an omnibus company, not precisely a maritime enterprise. But he has a good record as an executive with a head for details, and there was need of such a man for organizing the new ministry. Its creation testifies to the growing burdens and responsibilities which the colonial enterprises of France have brought in their train.

Bastiat's dispute between Fooltown and Boytown continues—the disputants in this case being France and Italy. Since they began to enact hostile tariffs against each other the trade between them has declined 564,000,000 francs. This is an enormous loss, but, instead of taking steps to repair it, they are trying to see which one has lost most and which one ought to feel worst. The usual way to settle such questions will probably be adopted by the high-tariff statisticians—by considering all that is exported a gain and all that is imported a loss. Thus, if it should turn out that the French exports to Italy had declined only 100,000,000 francs, while its imports from that country had declined 150,000,000, the figures being exactly reversed on the other side, it would be evident that Italy was getting the worst of it, and that the hostile tariffs ought to be kept up in the interest of France, or perhaps made more hostile than ever. It will be strange, however, if they cannot do some good figuring on the other side of the line. Fooltown was always able to cope with Boytown in that way.

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THE SEIGNIORAGE VETO.

THE message of the President giving his reasons for vetoing the Bland seigniorage bill has been received with some little disappointment in financial circles, by reason of two short paragraphs at the conclusion of it. These seem to have been pinned on after the sound and really profound argument against the bill had been made. That the bill would be vetoed there was no longer any doubt. Nor was there any doubt about the grounds on which the veto would be based. The bill was an attempt to reverse the policy agreed upon and enacted at the extra session by a large majority of both houses of Congress after an almost unexampled contest. It was an attempt to infuse more silver into the circulation without adequate provision for its redemption in gold, which the law plainly intends and requires. These were sufficient reasons for vetoing the bill. The President could not have done otherwise unless he had gone crazy since last November.

The two paragraphs which are incongruous with the rest of the message are these:

> "I am not insensible to the arguments in favor of coining the bullion seigniorage now in the Treasury, and I believe it could be done safely and with advantage if the Secretary of the Treasury had the power to issue bonds at a low rate of interest under authority in substitution of that now existing, and better suited to the protection of the Treasury.
>
> "I hope a way will present itself in the near future for the adjustment of our monetary affairs in such a comprehensive and conservative manner as will accord to silver its proper place in our currency; but in the meantime I am extremely solicitous that whatever action we take on this subject may be such as to prevent loss and discouragement to our people at home, and the destruction of confidence in our financial management abroad."

That these paragraphs are of no practical importance we shall presently show. At the same time they are not destitute of importance in their effect upon the imaginations of men. The friends of sound finance will be apt to think that the President is not quite so sound as they had taken him to be, while the silverites of all degrees will be encouraged to renewed efforts by the apparent concession to their views. The extent of this purely intellectual influence in either direction can be determined only by time.

It is hardly necessary to recapitulate the President's objections to the bill. They strike us as making this one of the best of Mr. Cleveland's state papers and one of the best in the Government's files. They are transfused with the thought that the gold standard must be preserved, that the faith and credit of the Government are so pledged, and that all business interests are conditioned upon it. Whatever tends to countervail this must be opposed, resisted, prevented. This idea is found even in the paragraph to which exception is taken, and which contains the suggestion that the coining of the seigniorage would be admissible if there were ample means provided for the redemption of the resulting coin or currency in gold. The President here says: "Give me the means to keep the gold reserve good and you may have this batch of 55,000,000 nondescripts." He had previously referred to the heterogeneous nature of our currency and deprecated the addition of a new variety to it. Now he says that this is a measurable and not a large quantity, and that he will not object to it if he is provided with ample powers to keep it at par with gold.

We have said that this is of little practical importance. There is no probability that the silver-men will consent to any issues of bonds whatever, least of all any issues which have for their avowed object the gold redemption of silver. In their view any such thing is an indignity to silver and a degradation of it. They hold that silver is as good as gold if you only think so. At heart they want to have the dollar scaled down to forty-nine cents or some other low figure. Any step which thwarts this intention will be opposed by them, as the Sherman repeal bill was, to the last extremity. Therefore, if the President's suggestion is to be taken as an offered compromise, it will fail for want of acceptance on the other side. If it should be accepted, it would not result in any addition to the silver burdens of the Government. It would only be like a bank receiving authority to put out a new lot of notes on condition of making adequate provision for their redemption.

The President's other suggestion, that he hopes for such an adjustment of our monetary affairs as will accord to silver its proper place in our currency, must refer to international action. No interpretation but this will harmonize with the other parts of the message. The legal place of silver in our currency is that of a subsidiary coinage. This has been its place *de facto* ever since 1834, and *de jure* ever since 1873. None of the subsequent legislation has changed its place. The badge of a subsidiary coinage was put upon it in the Bland-Allison act of 1878 and in the Sherman act of 1890. The place which it now holds is, in our judgment, its proper place, and we do not expect to see it changed.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA WAR.

THE outbreak in South Carolina over the enforcement of the liquor law is treated so sensationally by many of the newspapers, both in their news and editorial columns, that the average reader must be puzzled as to what has really happened and as to the merits of the controversy. To most people the affair comes with all the suddenness of an entirely unexpected outbreak, but those who have kept close track of developments in the State for two or three years were quite prepared for it.

Before the civil war South Carolina was ruled by a small element of the population—the landed aristocracy in the shape of the slaveholders, and the classes naturally allied with them. After the governmental debauch of Northern carpet-baggers, freedmen, and local rascals in the reconstruction era, power returned to the old hands when Hampton secured the Governorship in 1877. For a dozen years things went on much as before the war, the negroes being intimidated so that they did not dare to vote, or cheated out of their rights if they went to the polls. But there gradually grew up a strong opposition among the whites to the dominant and really respectable element, and towards the end of the eighties it became plain that a revolt was imminent.

The political upheaval throughout the country in 1890 naturally furnished the occasion for an overthrow of the old dynasty in South Carolina. The leader in the movement was Benjamin R. Tillman, who had already become prominent as a leader of the farmers, and his supporters gained control of the Democratic organization, so that he was easily nominated for Governor. An independent Democratic ticket was put in the field, headed by a representative of the old régime, but Tillman was elected by a vote of more than four to one, and he was easily reëlected at the end of his first term.

Tillmanism thus became supreme in the State. It was really only Populism under another name. It represented an organized protest against almost everything in the former government, not only in methods, but in personnel. Tillman is a demagogue, who perceived that there was a prejudice among the masses of the whites against what was vaguely called the "aristocracy," and that it would be easy to play upon this prejudice by assuming the rôle of a representative of the "people." The farmers seem to have had some ground for complaint against the management of the railroads, and of course Tillman was shrewd enough to utilize this feeling. There was some jealousy of Charleston and the other cities among the rural districts, and Tillman made this, too, serve his purpose. The unsettled condition of things which had prevailed during much of the time since 1860 had weakened the hold of conservatism, and the people were more ready to accept novelties than ever before since the Revolution.

The result of all these causes was that Tillman became almost supreme, the Legislature only recording his will. He enjoyed his possession of power as much as any man ever did, and he constantly sought new ways of signalizing his dominance. One of these was the passage by his Legislature of what is known as the dispensary liquor law, by which in July, 1893, the State assumed entire control of the liquor traffic, sales

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being forbidden except at the dispensaries. A State board of control buys and tests the liquors, and appoints county boards, which in turn appoint local dispensers, who can sell liquor only in bottles, not to be drunk on the premises. A local-option section enables any town by a vote of its citizens to prevent the opening of any dispensary within its limits.

So novel an experiment would probably have aroused more or less opposition in any State under normal circumstances. In South Carolina, under the conditions which then prevailed, its enforcement by such a man as Tillman was certain to provoke disorder. Ever since last summer there have been difficulties of one sort and another, and the opposition finally culminated last week in an assault by a mob upon a force of State constables and informers in Darlington, with loss of life on both sides. The Governor thereupon called out the troops, and some companies refused to obey his orders. The hostility between Tillman and the "old families" is so bitter that even military organizations in which the influence of the latter is supreme are ready to disband rather than help him enforce the laws. But some of the rural companies are true to him, and he seems at last to have obtained all the military force he needs.

Tillman has been characteristically offensive in his attitude during this controversy, and has committed some acts of a highly questionable nature, like his attempt to prevent the Western Union Telegraph Company from sending any despatches except those which he approved. But he represents the authority of the State, and he is trying to enforce a State law which was legally enacted—a law, too, which, though novel, is an experiment that ought to be fairly tried. The sober second thought of South Carolina can hardly fail in the end to sustain his position.

The situation is aggravated by the spirit of lawlessness which makes people in South Carolina careless of statutes and reckless of human life. The force and fraud which were employed to reinstate the whites in power during the reconstruction era have left a legacy of unsound ideas which will not be easily displaced. The whites began by shooting and cheating the blacks; they end by using the same sort of tactics upon each other. The cure of the evil will doubtless be slow and hard.

PAYING FOR "PEACE."

MR. WHEELER H. PECKHAM, in an address before a Good Government Club last week, made some extremely interesting statements concerning the inside working of Tammany government. In the old days, he said, the fate of city legislation was decided by the lobby at Albany, and the process of obtaining what one wanted was usually described in Mr. Tilden's phrase as "sending up the stuff." At present, according to Mr. Peckham—

> "Tammany Hall takes the place of the lobby. At its head is a man who handles a large amount of money yearly and is accountable to no one. He says whether a bill shall pass or not. They are all afraid of Tammany. Many corporations pay large amounts for peace, as they put it. The Metropolitan Telephone Company pays, I understand, $50,000 a year for peace. I know of one corporation which pays a similar amount. I tell you that every day of their lives these Tammany men are bribed and bribe others. Of course there is sometimes a cry of investigation. This time they can't find a lawyer. What's the reason? I know, for myself, it is because they wouldn't give me the power, without which I wouldn't act, and because they wouldn't allow me to direct the prosecution whither I wished."

This is a specific statement of what is a matter of general knowledge in this community. It has been stated many times that during the last session of the Legislature, when Tammany was in control of both houses, there was, for the first time in many years, a total absence of measures affecting the interests of various corporations in this city. None of the regulation "strikes" appeared among the bills. None of the railway, insurance, and other corporations found it necessary to send counsel to Albany to oppose hostile measures or advocate friendly ones. It was pretty generally known that all such matters were "arranged" here, and that somebody acting for Tammany Hall collected the "price of peace" from all corporations and institutions and persons that were at the mercy of the law-makers. Mr. Peckham cites two instances in which the price was $50,000, a figure sufficiently handsome to explain in large measure the sudden wealth which fell upon Mr. Croker and other Tammany magnates.

But Tammany is not in control, at least outwardly, of the two houses of the present Legislature. If the two corporations which Mr. Peckham cites are still paying $50,000 each for peace, to whom are they paying it? Is Tammany still acting as collector, and, if so, what arrangement has been made with Platt, who is supposed to control the Republican majorities of the two houses? Is it possible that the cause of the trouble which Platt has in controlling those majorities is due to a Tammany arrangement for a division of profits with individual members? Are some of the profits being used to prevent investigations as well as to block anti-Tammany legislation? Mr. Peckham says the reason why he would not act as counsel for the Senate investigating committee was "because they wouldn't give me the power, without which I wouldn't act, and because they wouldn't allow me to direct the prosecution whither I would." This is merely direct evidence in support of what has been very plainly established by circumstantial evidence. Platt has not allowed Tammany to be investigated, the Legislature has not allowed any anti-Tammany measures to pass, all measures to which Tammany is opposed are either "hung up" or are treated with a benumbing indifference.

Then, too, Platt is spending a great deal of time and money upon the organization of a Republican machine of his own in this city which has no excuse for existence save as a Tammany annex. Whence comes the money, as well as the motive, for this organization? The *Tribune*, which is lending all its aid to the new machine, has been at the same time giving no aid or support worth anything to such important city measures as the Chamber of Commerce rapid-transit bill, the bill to cut down Tammany's income from the sheriff's office, or the bill to make the overthrow of Tammany possible by giving the next mayor power to remove heads of departments. What do all these remarkable instances of tenderness towards Tammany on the part of its ostensible political enemies, mean? Why is it that, when Tammany is so demoralized by exposures and internal dissensions that it is fairly tottering to a fall—is so shaky on its foundations that a determined push would overturn it—a Republican Legislature, the Republican boss, and the chief Republican organ not only refuse to give the push, but unite in protecting it against assault from other quarters? There is a great mystery here which needs elucidation, and we can see no light from any direction save that which Mr. Peckham's statements indicate. Platt and the *Tribune* are openly clamoring for a division with Tammany of the spoils and abuses of the Police Department. They cannot, therefore, complain if people suspect them of sharing in other divisions secretly, especially when they combine to oppose all inquiry and legislation which would interfere with Tammany's profits and make a division impossible.

GOOD WORK FOR "GOOD AMERICANS."

WE think there can be no doubt that any hope of reform in the consular service which may have sprung up in the public mind has been all but killed by the promptness with which Mr. Cleveland allowed Mr. Quincy to make "a clean sweep." We do not recall any other occasion on which the work was done so promptly after the accession to office of a new President, or any occasion when a gentleman was called into the service for that special purpose, and was allowed to resign as soon as he had done it. Nor do we recall any other occasion in which the officer most responsible for the condition of the consular service—namely, the secretary of state—was allowed to wash his hands of the whole business of filling it, and substantially repudiate all connection with it,

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The tariff-reformers, when working for Mr. Cleveland's election, and ridiculing the reciprocity arrangements of the McKinley bill, always maintained that an increased foreign trade would be the result of reduced duties on imports, and especially on raw materials. But they also maintained that this increased foreign trade would hardly be possible without an improved consular service. That Mr. Cleveland would improve the consular service was therefore nearly as prominent an expectation of the reformers as that he would press for a reduction in the tariff. This expectation, too, was heightened by the warning he gave at the Villard dinner, that there was to be no "revelling in spoils," which, if it meant anything, meant that under his administration appointments to office would be made, in a fair degree at least, for the good of the service. The astonishment of the public was great, therefore, when a young man, with no knowledge of the consular service, was allowed to make a sweeping change in its officers with less inquiry and greater haste than had ever been displayed under any previous administration.

Fresh attention has been called to the subject by an article in the April number of the *North American Review*, from the pen of Mr. Wharton, who was Mr. Josiah Quincy's predecessor in the office of assistant secretary of state. Here is his account of the kind of persons who get consulships: "Politicians in the narrowest sense of the term"; "broken-down and unsuccessful professional or business men"; "invalids"; "men of moderate means" who wish to educate their children abroad, and wish for some occupation as a "pastime"; and "worthless" fellows who have "worn out the patience and endurance of their friends" at home. This unhappy crew are paid very much according to their deserts. Fourteen of them get $5,000 and over; seven get $4,000; seven $3,500; thirty-one $3,000; fifty-one $2,000, and ninety-five $1,500 or $1,000. Out of this they have to pay their own passage to and from the most distant posts. The holders of the smaller posts naturally run badly into debt, and, when their heads are cut off by a new administration, leave their debts unpaid, and literally beg their way home, or "beat" it, as the tramps say. The name of American consuls at many ports is a name of odium and disrepute, and the relief of destitute ex-consuls creates a serious demand on the purses of American bankers or well-to-do Americans living or travelling abroad.

Why this terrible national disgrace does not make more impression on "good Americans" and American Jingoes, we have never been able to understand. These two classes of persons have a passionate desire for a large navy, with the usual accompaniments of coaling stations, Gibraltars, Maltas, Adens, and Capes of Good Hope. The navy is intended to impress foreigners with our greatness as a nation. Lieut. Staunton, who is the latest popular writer about it, foreshadowed its disregard of foreign customs regulations, by making it take an American vessel seized for a violation of them in a foreign port, out of the hands of the local authorities by force, and described our Government as supporting this act of brigandage by a bloody war. Now a navy is a very imperfect means of impressing foreigners. It will be a long time before we have any navy which will not seem insignificant to the English, or French, or Russians, or even Italians. It will, moreover, cost an enormous sum before we get it, and but few foreigners will ever see it. It may visit a few ports, but if it behaves as Lieut. Staunton intimates that it may, civilized men will dread its appearance off their coasts as the French and the Saxons of the eighth century used to dread the approach of the Northmen. In the meantime there is a cheap and ready mode of spreading our fame as a great republic through the foreign world and winning a respect of the best kind for the American name, and that is by filling our consulships with good and well-paid men. In most foreign towns the American consul is supposed, as the consuls of other nations are, to represent fairly well the morals and manners of the best class of his countrymen. What a dreadful impression, then, he gives of us if he is dirty, if he is a drunkard, if he lives in a poor quarter, if he pays neither his landlord nor his grocer nor his butcher; if he is an ignoramus or an imbecile, and speaks no language but his own and that badly. Why will not the "good Americans" and the Jingoes take up this great reform, and, pending the creation of a big navy, fill our consulships with men who will fairly represent our culture and morality? Would it not be far better to work on the imagination of foreigners in this way than by presenting them, as Lieut. Staunton proposes, with the spectacle of "a hell of death and destruction" wrought by one of our battle-ships?

AN HISTORICAL STUDENT IN GREECE.

NAPLES, February, 1894.

As the steamer approached the eastern shore of the Adriatic, a young gentleman asked in perfect seriousness: "How far are we above the sea level here?" The question seemed natural: surely no other sea or ocean connected with the strait before us, narrowing between the bleak and snow-capped coast of Epirus and the golden islands which are the northernmost reach of Greek territory. In a land where so little water runs down hill, might not some run up hill? Yet it was to correct in my own mind the tendency to look upon Greece as a political Atlantis, a region now existent only in song and story, that I was come thither. I wished to see for myself what could be learned on the ground by matter-of-fact students of sober history, unversed in Greek archæology or literature; and especially to see how far physical conditions might seem to have affected Greek federal or centralized unions. If in the four weeks available it has not proved feasible to learn much, at least many strongly held preconceptions have been removed.

The first of those preconceptions was that the journey would be long and wearying. By timing one's departure to catch the weekly steamer from Brindisi, it is possible to leave Naples at noon, and to be in Athens, after a very comfortable trip, at four in the afternoon of the second day. Internal travel in Greece is difficult and often exhausting; fortunately most of the places which the tourist is likely to visit can be reached, or nearly approached, by the vertebral railway line from Patras to Athens, with its branches to Laurion, Nauplia, Tripolitza, Olympia, and Agrinion. The Corinth Canal, which ought to be so convenient to through travellers to Athens, is not yet used by any of the large lines and seems likely to be a commercial failure; the local steamers, to judge by that which carried us from the Piræus to Itea through the canal, have all the discomforts described by the guide-books, but are full of picturesque people and bring the traveller into intimate relations with Greek scenery. Yet the waters of both the Corinthian and Saronic gulfs and of the open seas are surprisingly lonely: in a whole day one sees only a few fishing craft where the navies of the ancient world abounded. Off the highways of iron or salt-water, travel is tedious. Few wheels roll on the excellent new chausées, zigzagging up the mountains to the hill villages. Horses abound, but only once did we see a fiery little animal, with short perpendicular neck and delicate head, such as curvet in the Parthenon friezes. It is picturesque to see the peasant men and women sitting sidewise in the big packsaddles, but it is fatiguing to the Occidental; while the mule tracks have the characteristics of a Kentucky dirt road—steep hills, a stony path, muddy bottoms, and no bridges. Hotels outside of Athens and Patras are notoriously defective, and the traveller who sees anything but the most frequented parts of Greece must make up his mind to spend much time and nervous energy and not a little money.

Yet even in the most conventional journey one is rewarded by strange and beautiful scenery. The sea is like no other sea: blue shades into darker blue, and thence into unusual greens. The mountains are both less and more beautiful than one expects. During almost the whole year the lower ranges are brown, arid, and desolate, especially Hymettos and Pentelikon, the background to Athens. On the other hand, they take on in the afternoon a wonderful violet haze. Most surprising are the great stretches of magnificent winter snow mountains, both in the Peloponnesus and north of the Gulf of Corinth. Parnon and Erymanthos and lofty Kyllene, Kiona, Helikon, and Parnassos carry wide smooth snow-fields, which gleam like Monte Rosa. Especially from Delphi is one impressed by the height, variety, and grandeur of the surrounding mountains. Nowhere, away from Naples or Amalfi, are to be found such combinations of sky, sea, and mountain—blue ranges seen across blue waters against a blue horizon, or the golden sky enclosing the faint green outline of distant islands.

Perhaps the modern Greeks would exchange some of this beauty for fertile plains and wooded mountains. Greece seems in most

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parts a very barren and poor country, much inferior in natural advantages to Italy. Doubtless ancient forests and irrigating canals have disappeared, but it is hard to believe that the country could ever have had great wealth, except through commerce. At present there is a pitiful lack of the evidences of civilization. Piers and harbors are almost wanting; except in Athens and Patras there is hardly a modern building in the country higher than two stories. In a country renowned for its masonry there are very few cut stones; the ancient ruins have been broken to fragments, and broken again, till the usual walls are of sun-dried brick; and I saw not a few wretched thatched huts which appeared to be permanent dwellings. Even the castles, both ancient and mediæval, have with few exceptions wholly disappeared, and those which one sees were nearly all built by the Turks, as at Nauplia, or to keep out the Turks, as at Corfu. Nothing strikes one more in Greece than the poor and dirty villages which have taken the place of the ancient cities. Occasionally a town, as in the case of Itea, has the broad, straggling streets and two-storied verandas of a North Carolina village; oftener, like Arachova, they are collections of rude and dirty stone and mud buildings, huddled along a disgusting lane. Elsewhere in western Europe the churches have an historical and architectural interest. But while the Italians were making the mosaics of St. Mark's, the encrusted chapels of Palermo, and the Lombard sculpture, the Greeks could do no better than to assemble fragments of ancient buildings and heap them in confused fashion into pitiful little Byzantine chapels. When one sees how little there is in Greece later than the fall of the Roman Empire and earlier than the present century, one begins to understand why Greek history is of so little account between 500 and 1800 A. D. The few relics of the War of Liberation from the Turks (1820-29) light up that magnificent episode; but from the present Government of Greece one learns only that the United States is not the only country in which the national legislature seems incapable of putting measures through.

Passing from the land to the people who inhabit it, the lack of continuity from ancient times is startling. "The Greeks," said an ingenuous writer of a college-examination book, "were the first people who invented intelligence." In many respects the modern Greeks keep up the character of a shrewd, energetic, and gainful race, busy and productive. They have also a strong national feeling, to which the country owes most of its handsome public buildings; for the Academy, Library, and Museum at Athens, the Museum at Olympia, and many like structures, are the gifts of wealthy individuals. When one first lands at Corfu, he seems to recognize in the handsome men and the beautiful peasant women the classic Greek type. On the mainland, however, doubt begins to arise whether there are any Greeks. In the group of thirty or more people gathered on the little steamer bound to Itea were a well-dressed and well-bred lady, an officer in dark uniform, a coquettish person in a white cloud, a shepherd in a shaggy cloak and tight knee-breeches, a Turk cross-legged, near his wife in a yashmak rolled up in a rug, with two voiceless children, and a gentleman in round red cap, fustinella (white kilts), smoke-colored gaiters, and a black overcoat. Of this typical assemblage, not one had Greek features. Indeed, I have seen but three or four men and not one woman who looked like contemporaries of Pericles; one would see more Greek types in Rhode Island or Alabama. Outside of the agreeable and well-featured upper classes, there is, on the contrary, a rudeness of features more suitable for Tartary than for Hellas, where are the descendants of the "well-greaved Achaians."

It is difficult to resist the conviction that modern Greece, as Kipling says of Russia, is "the most Western of Eastern nations." The scenery is Oriental, the towns are Oriental. From the windows of the old mosque in Nauplia, the prisoners look down and draw up clean linen by a cord, as they might at Smyrna; in Old Corinth the fountain bears a Turkish inscription, as it might in Adrianople; a line of dirty and ill-natured camels, tied head to tail, brings loads of olives from Salona to the oil mills at Itea; an Eastern wail issued from the lips of the priests who walked in a funeral procession at Aigion. The Turkish occupation has left an ineffaceable stamp on the country.

Out of the mixture of races springs one of the pleasures of a visit to Greece. Everywhere are to be seen most picturesque costumes, recalling the ancient dress of the people. A loose blue tunic, belted to the waist, comes straight down from the monuments. Apparently the elaborately plaited fustinella, or kilt, is a latter-day adaptation of the same garment. The women very commonly wear a narrow white skirt not unlike those of the Caryatides of the Erechtheum; and the embroideries of their sleeves and skirts are like the embroideries sold by the Phœnicians. Besides these costumes others are common: gray rough-hooded cloaks, with knee-breeches and stockings; white cloaks and breeches; blue Turkish bags; and the remarkable Montenegrin costume of dirty brown, the seams all turned over in black. Unfortunately these costumes are now rapidly disappearing; already the trouser has conquered half the men, and in a few years the picturesque fustinella will become, like its kindred garment the Scotch kilt, nothing but an historical anachronism.

What is there for an historical student in a country so poor, so altered in race and character, so denuded by the ice-sheet of Turkish domination? At least "every schoolboy knows"—or rues it if he has forgotten—that the peculiarities of ancient Greek history and life were due in great part to the physical conditions of the country. Are not the small States and the intense city life and the individuality of the Greeks accounted for by the separation of the region into isolated valleys among the mountains? It does not require very keen observation to see that this influence has been exaggerated. The Alps and the Pyrenees are not to be compared with the Greek mountains, seamed with easy passes, which were often crossed by hostile armies, and were usually open to internal trade and travel. A visit to Argos and the Akrokorinthos brings home the importance which the ancients attached to a citadel site not too near the sea; and it is easy to see that the well-harbored coasts of Greece, thrust as they were across the great trade routes of antiquity, gave to Athens and Corinth and other commercial cities a position not unlike that of Venice a thousand years later. But the geology of Greece does not explain its history. The physical conditions of national life and union were better than those of the Roman state, and yet Greece missed the opportunity of founding an empire.

To the ruins of Greece, therefore, we must look for the secret of the marvellous life of the Greeks. Here, except in the matchless remains at Athens, I must own to some disappointment. The battle-fields even of Salamis and Marathon can only suggest; they have retained nothing. It is the sanctuaries, temples, cities, palaces, and roads from which one must expect most, and the Greek ruins are few and mournful. To be sure, there are few superincumbent strata of later historical settlements to obscure them. A few buildings of the Roman period bear testimony to the boastful use of unnecessary mass which characterizes Roman architecture as well as Roman civilization; but usually what is left is unmixed Greek work. Yet everything is so shattered and despoiled that it is hard to reconstruct. At Eleusis there is little but a splendid platform; at Olympia not one column was found standing; at Delphi the giants plainly got the better of the gods, and destroyed their sanctuaries by rolling great masses of rock down upon them from the mountain side, so that the very temple floors are crushed and upheaved. Of Chalkis and Aigion and Argos, there is hardly a trace. In many places the very walls seem to have crumbled into dust, and to have been blown to the four winds of heaven. From the sites rather than from the ruins one must seek inspiration.

Four of the most famous sites, Olympia, the Isthmus, Delphi, and Athens, have a special interest to the historical student because they were centres of Greek national life. Of these Olympia had fewest qualifications to be a political focus. The plain in which it lies is brown and unattractive, it was never defensible, and was conveniently situated only to the Peloponnesus and the western Greek colonies. The Isthmus, where Alexander was hailed as head of Greece, had a proper site for a national capital; but the political prestige of the situation went to Corinth, which was never a commonwealth-builder. Delphi is one of the notable spots of the world, not simply because of its wonderful scenery and its famous shrine, but because in it are still visible the foundations of a building in which assembled the only permanent council of the Greek race. It could not have been chance that on either of the two ancient roads to Delphi the traveller caught no view of the sacred precincts till he was almost upon them. Here, if anywhere in Greece, one can put one's self into the place of the ancient Greek, for here is still unchanged that which awed him—the stern cliffs, the great chasm from which issues the Castalian spring, the gorge below, and the rock wall opposite. Just now the French School is industriously at work upon the excavation, and although there is faint hope of finding any valuable sculptures, the wealth of inscriptions promises to shed new light on the history of the Amphictyonic Council. Of Athens, and especially of the Acropolis, one can only say that there is nothing more beautiful than the most beautiful; and that the historical student shares the delight of the archæologist and the artist. Here also is brought home to the mind the position of Athens as a world city, far too great for Attica, and almost mighty enough to make itself the master of a united Greece.

In Athens is now established a centre of intellectual life which is likely to be important for the study of Greek history. The National University, Academy, Library, and Museums must aid the Greeks to understand and study their own history; and the four foreign schools offer a *ποῦ στῶ* to the investigator from over seas. Already centres of archæological and philological learning, they are likely to serve also the student of history. Each has its house, its corps of students, its library, its lecturers; and an admirable spirit of coöperation opens to the stu-

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dents of each the advantages of all the others. Here is one place in the world where Frenchmen can work with Germans, and English and Americans agree without a treaty of arbitration. No one who has listened to Dr. Dörpfeld's cogent exposition of his grounds for believing that he has discovered the aqueduct of Peisistratus can fail to see how much the archæologists can teach the historians about covering the ground thoroughly, and patiently tracing every thread of evidence to its end. In this admirable and growing work the American School bears so honorable a part that a wish springs up for a similar school in Rome.

I could not leave Greece without making special visits to the sites of the two best organized Greek federations, Ætolia and Achaia. As a reader of Freeman, I felt well acquainted with the rude and mountainous country inhabited by the robber Ætolians. A very brief visit led to the belief that the country, if not the people, had been misrepresented. The centre of the Ætolian League was a broad, lake-studded region, bordering on one of the largest rivers in Greece, and within easy reach of the western and southern seas. Unfortunately, I was not able to reach the ruins of Thermon, the capital, and to explore the radiating valleys.

The Achaian League lay on what now, as in ancient times, is the main highway in Greece, and it was not difficult to visit the site of the capital, Aigion, and of several other cities. It was necessary first to dispel an impression that the country had been only a narrow shelf between inaccessible mountains and the Gulf of Corinth. In reality, the narrow gorges open inward, and communication by land from city to city was not very difficult. In size and character it is not unlike the strip between the Hudson and the Berkshire Hills. Such a land was favorable to the establishment of federal government, for it abounded in strongholds, had communication by sea and land, had a defensible frontier, and included much fruitful soil. Still more, the component cities lay where they were all exposed to four powerful enemies—Macedon, Sparta, the Ætolian League, and Rome. Yet why should the idea of an elaborate federation have come to those people rather than to the cities of eastern Greece. Why should it have later disappeared from the mind not only of Greece but of the world? Neither the soil nor the mountains nor the painfully scanty ruins of the cities answer the question.

As we passed out of the Corfu Straits and headed again for Italy, there swept past us a quick succession of craft. An English seventy-four asked for news of Buonaparte's Egyptian fleet; a Turkish pirate hovered inshore; a Venetian merchantman asked for a new supply of Greek fire; a Byzantine imperial vessel announced the death of Justinian, and a Roman galley the victory of Actium; an Athenian trireme bade us keep hands off the Corcyrean allies of Athens; and the shallop of King Alcinous bore toward Ithaca the "stranger, handsome and tall." Was all this only a red-sailed fishing-boat? Are Greek mythology and history only what we now see in Greece? The historical student brings back a keener appreciation of the unfavorable conditions over which the ancient Greeks triumphed, a greater admiration for the few great works that are left, and an imagination quickened by the sight of the background of Greek history.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

PASQUIER'S NAPOLEONIC MEMOIRS.—VII.

PARIS, March 23, 1894.

DURING the Hundred Days, Napoleon made a reform in the imperial institutions. The "Acte Additionel aux Constitutions de l'Empire" was a liberal effort, something like the ministry of Émile Ollivier at the end of the Second Empire. The "Acte Additionel" guaranteed the liberty of the subject. Pasquier, instead of leaving Paris, remained there by the advice of Fouché. "The Emperor," said Fouché to him, "will be obliged to leave for the army before the end of the month. Once he is gone, we shall be masters of the ground. If he gain one or two battles, he will lose the third."

"This perfidy of Fouché, Napoleon's minister," says Pasquier, "is one of the most singular incidents of this epoch. What is still more astonishing is that the Emperor, who could not be completely ignorant of it, left him his portfolio, which he kept in a position where he had so many ways of being dangerous. Did he not dare to dismiss him? Did he think him more dangerous outside of the cabinet than in the cabinet? Or was M. Fouché protected by his well-known habit of deceiving everybody?"

Fleury de Chaboulon, one of Napoleon's secretaries, has given an account, in his Memoirs, of a secret negotiation which took place at this period between Fouché and Prince Metternich, its object being the return of Marie Louise and the young King of Rome to France. If we may believe Fleury de Chaboulon, Metternich did not feel bound to defend the rights of the Bourbons; he was thinking of the Duke of Orleans as King of France, or as Regent for the young King of Rome. Talleyrand was not wholly unaware of Metternich's sentiments, as is seen in a letter which he wrote on April 23 to Louis XVIII., who was then at Ghent. He says, however, in this letter, that Marie Louise absolutely refused to return to France, and that there would be no question of her regency. He also notified Louis XVIII. that the Emperor Alexander was thinking of the Duke of Orleans, not as Regent for Napoleon's son, but as King. These are the words which he places in the mouth of Alexander, in a conversation which the Emperor of Russia had with Lord Clancarty:

"'The Duke of Orleans is French, he is a Bourbon, he is the husband of a Bourbon; he has sons; he served, in his youth, the constitutional cause; he has worn the tricolor cockade, which, I often said in Paris, ought never to have been abandoned; he could unite all parties. Do you not think so, my Lord? and what would be the opinion of England on this point?' Lord Clancarty replied that it seemed very doubtful to him that England would ever abandon the principle of legitimacy."

Talleyrand had a great talent for reproducing long conversations very exactly in his despatches. He evidently wished to warn Louis XVIII. against the indifference or the hesitation of the great Powers; at the same moment, he was in direct correspondence with the Duke of Orleans, who had left France at the same time as Louis XVIII. but had not followed him to Ghent. On leaving the King, Louis-Philippe wrote to him to separate his cause entirely from that of the great Powers. Louis XVIII. replied vaguely, and asked him to join him at Ghent. Louis-Philippe remained, however, quietly at Twickenham. As for Talleyrand, who had also been summoned to Ghent, he contrived to arrive there only after Waterloo.

Pasquier, notwithstanding the advice of Fouché, retired for a time to the Château du Marais, which belonged to Mme. de la Briche, the mother-in-law of M. Molé. He found there M. Molé and M. de Barante, who had also retired to Auvergne. They had not to wait long; the campaign of 1815 ended almost immediately in the disaster of Waterloo. Immediately after the battle, Mme. Pasquier, who had remained in Paris, sent a messenger to her husband, informing him that Napoleon had come back to Paris a few hours after the news of the defeat had arrived. As soon as the Emperor found himself at the Tuileries he announced his intention to continue the war and to ask new sacrifices from the country. He was disposed at times to negotiate with the Chambers, at times to act without them. The Deputies, on motion of Lafayette, declared themselves in permanent session, and resolved that "any attempt to dissolve the Chamber would be a crime of high treason." They invited all the ministers to come at once to the Chamber.

Fouché thought himself master of the Chamber of Deputies. Napoleon soon became convinced that he had nothing to do but to abdicate. Lafayette was determined, if he did not abdicate, to propose to the Chamber the *déchéance* of the Bonapartist dynasty. Queen Hortense, Mme. Mère (the mother of Napoleon), his brothers, all pressed him to sign his abdication and to seek safety in America. Fouché brought to the Deputies the act of abdication, in which Napoleon said: "I offer myself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they be sincere in their declarations that they have no other object of enmity than my person. My political life is ended, and I proclaim my son Emperor of the French, under the title of Napoleon II."

What was to be done with the Emperor? He still remained in the Élysée. All round the little palace and its gardens were crowds of people screaming, "Vive l'Empereur!" Napoleon thought himself obliged to come to the window or on to the terrace, and thank them. Pasquier had returned to Paris:

"I saw him one day," he says, "on the terrace. I had not seen him since my last conversation with him in 1814, the day before his departure for the campaign in France, and I could not but feel the deepest emotion on seeing him now reduced to come out and acknowledge by repeated bows the acclamations of the rabble. . . . His physiognomy, naturally grave, had become sombre; he sometimes tried to smile, but the expression of his eyes was full of sadness."

As soon as he found himself in Paris, Pasquier saw M. de Vitrolles, who had been kept some time in prison by Fouché and afterwards set free by him. There was still a fear that Napoleon would join the remainder of the French army, which was marching towards the Loire. He left the Élysée for the Malmaison, and his person was guarded by General Beker, who was known to be very inimical to him. Nobody knew at first what were the dispositions of Marshal Soult and Marshal Grouchy, who had still 80,000 men under their orders. Vitrolles soon ascertained that they had no desire to continue the war, and placed themselves at the disposal of the Bourbons. Napoleon was losing time at the Malmaison. More than once he thought of going to America, where he would, he said, consecrate his leisure to the study of science. He offered to accompany Arago. Orders were sent to Havre to have two frigates in readiness for him; he asked the foreign plenipotentiaries for safe-conducts, but they had not been sent; the allies were advancing, and it was soon too late for him to go to Havre. He left on June 29 for Rochefort, with General Beker. When he heard that the Prussians had

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crossed the Seine, all his hesitation was at an end; he gave himself up as a prisoner to the English Government.

Pasquier judges thus the conduct of Napoleon after his return from Elba:

"From the moment of his arrival at Golfe-Jouan up to his arrival in Paris, he was admirable in his resolution and in his resources of execution; his proclamations during this epoch have a character of pride and greatness which moves the imagination and the heart. . . . After this brilliant début, he did not recover the same accents; he did not find himself on his accustomed ground; he could not dominate either men or events. He thought it necessary to make an appeal to the sentiments of liberty and independence; he could not evince his secret desire of reassuming his despotic habits, which he was obliged to renounce."

Pasquier criticises Napoleon for not having immediately after the return from Elba occupied Belgium with 25,000 men. "After the battle of Ligny, he lost time and did not follow up the Prussians closely enough. He did not keep sufficiently under his hand the corps of Marshal Grouchy. During the battle of Waterloo, he directed the movements from too great a distance; a cavalry charge which might have been decisive, was made too early and compromised his last resource." Is it true that Bonaparte, during the three months which have sometimes been called the "Century of the Hundred Days," was not quite himself, and that his genius, like his physical forces, was declining? Who can answer such a question exactly? We shall soon have the volume which M. Henry Houssaye is preparing on this very period, and we hope to find in it some new documents.

The anxiety at Ghent had been very great during the battle of Waterloo; for a moment it was thought that the English army had been beaten, and Louis XVIII. was preparing to take flight. It was fortunate for the Bourbons that Wellington's victory gave to him and to England a preponderating influence, for at Vienna the deliberations of the Congress had shown that Louis XVIII. had no better friends than the English. The Emperor Alexander had been estranged from him since the first days of the restoration in 1814; he discovered that Talleyrand had concluded during the Congress a secret treaty against Russia. The first information of it had been given by the Duke of Vicenza to a secretary of the Russian Embassy. A copy of the treaty was subsequently found on M. Reinhard, minister of France to Frankfort, who had been arrested by some Prussian soldiers on the high road between Frankfort and the French frontier. The Emperor Alexander was very indignant at this discovery, but he would not complain, and he forbade M. Pozzo di Borgo, whom he had accredited to Louis XVIII. at Ghent, to say anything about it. "They are low enough now," he said, "and it is not the time to make them feel the extent of their wrongs."

Wellington did not lose any time; he advised Louis XVIII. to come at once and establish himself in French territory. Louis XVIII. went first to Mons; he was joined there by Talleyrand, who advised him not to enter France till the war was ended. Louis XVIII. resisted this advice, and Talleyrand left him for a few days, joining him again on the advice of Wellington, and they entered Cambrai together. Talleyrand had yielded to the King on one point, he triumphed over him on another; he obtained the dismissal of M. de Blacas, who was considered the right-hand man of Monsieur and the princes, who were adverse to constitutional institutions.

The Prussians arrived on the heights of Meudon, and, in order to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, Marshal Davout signed a capitulation with them at Saint-Cloud. The French troops retired towards the Loire, and the National Guard was charged with the mission of preserving order in Paris. After the departure of the troops, the royalists began to prepare for the return of Louis XVIII. The King was approaching. Pasquier went as far as Arnouville to meet him. He found there a number of carriages and of visitors. The King, hearing of his arrival, at once sent for him, and received him in the midst of his council. By Pasquier's advice the King decided to start for the capital, but not till the next day, as there was still some agitation in Paris, and the National Guard still wore the tricolor cockade. After the council he was informed by Talleyrand that the King offered him a post in the cabinet—that of Justice or the Interior. Pasquier chose the ministry of justice. Talleyrand informed him also that Fouché was minister of police.

"Seeing the profound astonishment which I felt, he said: '*Que voulez-vous?* everybody has been imposed upon by him. The Duke of Wellington, who has had his head turned by him, has declared that Fouché is the only man who can guarantee the security of the capital, and consequently of France; he came in person to beg the King to admit him to his councils. We are just now under such obligations to the Duke of Wellington that there is no possibility of resisting his demands. Moreover, the Faubourg St.-Germain swears only by M. Fouché; all the letters and emissaries that have reached the King and the princes during the past fortnight have spoken only of him.'"

And so Fouché, the terrorist, the regicide, the minister of police of Napoleon during the Hundred Days, became the minister of police under Louis XVIII.

Correspondence.

THE DUTY ON COAL.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the article on Senate amendments to the tariff bill (issue of March 15) I read: "The duty on coal is of much less consequence, as it affects only a corner of New England," etc. That other interests of some importance are affected will, I think, appear from the following facts:

California produces no coal, and, the coals of Oregon and Washington being unfit for many purposes, a large part of the consumption in the State is necessarily from foreign sources. For the ten years ending January 1, 1894, the total importation of coal for California has been 11,620,000 tons, of which 6,814,000 tons, or more than 60 per cent., paid the duty. During this time, therefore, this small and not overprosperous community has been taxed over $5,100,000 in order that the "small corner of New England" may have its coal from Pennsylvania or Virginia instead of from its natural source of supply.

Besides this direct tax, and its effect on manufacturing, there results an indirect evil from the fact that the staple wheat crop is carried away in foreign sailing ships, whose cargoes here are mainly coal, there being little else for them to bring under the other beneficent provisions of our law. Any check to our use of coal means, therefore, larger outward freights for wheat and smaller prices for the farmer.

A. H. P.

San Mateo, Cal., March 23, 1894.

JUVENAL MISQUOTED.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I thank your correspondent "Y." for calling attention, in your issue of March 22, to my misquotation in the Latin words concluding my communication in the "Bishops' Symposium" of the *Independent* of March 8. I wrote hastily. The hexameter measure of the words as I penned them satisfied my ear. I did not stop to note the unsatisfactoriness of the sense. I am mortified to have seemed to put into the mouth of the vigorous and incisive Juvenal the flat and unprofitable meaning which my error of utterance conveys.

Daniel S. Tuttle,
Bishop of Missouri.

St. Louis, Mo., March 26, 1894.

THE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In No. 1497 of the *Nation* there is a note on the succession to the post of Director of the National Gallery in London, which impresses me, an old reader and collaborator of that generally most just and judicious paper, very painfully. I do not know what good the intervention of the *Nation* in the matter could do to the chances of Mr. Colvin, but it seems to me that the evident animus of the information as to his relative merits is more likely to do him harm than good, should it come to the eye of Lord Rosebery. Judgments vary very much as to how "remarkably well Mr. Sidney Colvin has already acquitted himself in somewhat similar [?] posts," but people who have any sound knowledge of art generally consider him as quite the very most unfit candidate for the succession to Burton of all those in the field. He has a literary reputation merely, and in the course of his literary career he has never expressed an opinion on matters of art which showed his capacity for individual judgment. He is understood to have the support of Sir Frederic Leighton for the appointment, but I have not heard of any other qualified person who endorses his claims; but as the nominee of Sir Frederic he is far more likely to run into that abyss of subservience to the Academy of which you seem to have such a horror, than Mr. Poynter would be. He is neither painter nor connoisseur, while Poynter is both, and there are other candidates whose qualifications are superior to those of either of the named, if knowledge of pictures is the chief requisite. For fear of repeating the blunder the *Nation* has committed to the disadvantage of another candidate, I do not canvass them.—Yours truly,

X.

Italy, March 20, 1894.

[Our approval of Mr. Colvin was by no means unqualified.—Ed. Nation.]

EARLY LATIN POETRY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the April number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Prof. Tyrrell has an article on "Early Latin Poetry." On page 508, speaking of Accius, he says:

"We have already heard his confident answer to the aged Pacuvius, and we are told by Valerius Maximus that when Cæsar entered the Collegium Poetarum, a kind of ancient analogue of the French Academy, Attius did not rise. He acknowledged the superior rank of Cæsar, but added, 'Here the question is, not who has most ancestors, but who has most works to point to.'"

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Can it be that Prof. Tyrrell is ignorant of the fact that not the dictator but C. Julius Cæsar Strabo, the writer of tragedies, is meant? Certainly no one reading the quotation would suppose that the allusion was to any but the great Cæsar.

On page 507, Prof. Tyrrell says: "He [Pacuvius] learned the bitterness of being eclipsed by a younger rival, Attius." There seems to be no authority for such a view. Cicero and Varro distinctly assign the palm of tragedy to Pacuvius; the poets of after years speak of the two with practically the same degree of commendation, and the story of the relations of the two told by Aulus Gellius gives an impression of anything but bitterness.

Respectfully, SAMUEL BALL PLATNER.

MARCH 28, 1894.

SYLLABICATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of October 26, 1893, page 311, a correspondent, quoting Suetonius as to Augustus Cæsar's avoidance of syllabication, and his disposal of letters at the end of lines in writing, translates *circumducit* "draws a line round them." Why not "draws them around," *i. e.*, bends the line of writing at the end, as many do now? Otherwise, how could he avoid dividing the word? Would not drawing a line around the last letters be equivalent to dividing the word? N.

[We have referred this query to our correspondent, who replies as follows.—ED. NATION.]

"We would gladly adopt 'N.'s' translation of *circumducit* by *bends*, did not that English word require *flectit* in Latin, and were not our version on p. 311 in keeping with Facciolati's interpretation of *circumducit* as 'lineâ ductâ circumscribere,' and with Freund's definition —with reference to the custom of Augustus— 'to place letters remaining at the end of a line below it, and draw circular marks around them to indicate that they belong above.' To the same purpose is the rendering of John Clarke of Hull as printed in 1732, namely: 'Augustus never divides his words so as to carry the letters that cannot be got in at the end of the line to the next, but puts them below the other enclosed within a semicircle.' It may be that the Emperor in fact bent a word downward on approaching the end of a line, but the word *circumduco* does not so declare. If, however, he did break off some letters from a word, his defence would be that he did so not in deference to any school of syllabicators, but yielding to the narrowness of paper."

"MEND OR END."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Westminster Budget* of the 16th instant, Mr. John Morley apparently gets the credit of having devised this combination. There must be many, however, who do not require to be told that Carlyle has, in the eighth of his *Latter-day Pamphlets:*

"It behoves thee to be in nameless remorse, till thy life either *mend or end.*"

Carlyle, in turn, I have more than once seen spoken of as having first jingled *end* with *mend.* Yet he was long anticipated in so doing:

"I had the charity to interpret, that most part of My subjects fought against My supposed errours, not My person, and intended to *mend* Me, not to *end* Me."—Anon., *Eikōn Basilikē* (1649), p. 138 (ed. 1824).

Unless my memory misleads me, this is one of the passages which Hallam brings forward in his argument against attributing the *Eikōn Basilikē* to Charles I. Those passages, if I recollect his words aright, are such as he thinks the king would have disdained to write.

To what extent *mend* and *end* were formerly balanced against each other, I am unable to say; but at least one author of the seventeenth century was rather fond of them, to express the ideas of amelioration and extinction:

"I had rather we should *mend* than *End.*" Rev. Edmund Hickeringill (about 1680), *Works* (ed. 1716), vol. i., p. 21.

"He looks on, and will either *end* our sufferings, or *mend* us by suffering." *Id.* (1662), *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 279.

"The worst I wish them is to '*mend*, not *end*, them." *Id.* (1682), *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 50.

Bishop Andrewes, in a sermon preached at Christmas, 1614, allowed himself to be seduced, by the appellative *Immanuel*, into speaking, paronomastically, of *Immanu-hell* and *Immanu-all.* Nothing strange is it, then, that his clerical contemporaries are found to have paltered with *end* and *amend:*

"Death . . . would *end* and *amend* all, wert thou prepared for death." Rev. Dr. Robert Harris, *Samuels Funerall* (1614), p. 6 (ed. 1618).

"Vntill Christ either *amend* or *end* all disorders." Rev. Dr. William Hull, *Mirrovr of Maiestie* (1615), p. 14.

With instances of *mend* and *end*, *amend* and *end*, as metrical rimes, I do not here concern myself. F. H.

MARLESFORD, ENGLAND, February 17, 1894.

N. B.—To my letter in No. 1487 I wish to add a little, by way of supplement.

The quotation there given, from Fielding's *Tom Jones*, for *pretty considerable*, is in Book ix., ch. vii. The expression is seen again in Book xviii., ch. iii. And the date of *Tom Jones* is 1749, not 1750, which I named.

The quotation for *pretty considerable* from Smollett's *Sir Launcelot Greaves* is in chap. iv., near the end. But modern editions, such as I have been able to consult, omit *pretty* from it. In Smollett's *Works* (ed. 1806), vol. vi., p. 187, occurs my quotation from *Humphry Clinker.*

And here are two kindred quotations, not before adduced:

"From a *pretty considerable* distance." Oliver Goldsmith (died 1774), *A Survey of Experimental Philosophy* (1776), vol. i., p. 43.

"The chapel was . . . at a *pretty considerable* distance from my chamber." Anon., Trans. of *The Invisible Man* (1800), vol. ii., p. 140.

With respect to *realize*, Abp. Whately, having used the word, comments on it as follows:

"I mean, in the English, not in the American sense of the word 'realize.' To 'realize' a scheme, &c., means, with us, to make it 'real,' 'to carry it into effect'; with the Americans, it means to 'form a strong and vivid conception of it.' I acknowledge the want, in our language, of a single word adequately expressing this; but circumlocution is better than ambiguity." *Additions to the Seventh Edition of Elements of Rhetoric* (1846), p. 7, foot-note.

As I have already shown, *realize*, so far as at present appears, was, in the latest sense imposed on it, used originally in England, and was only first popularized by Americans. Nor have Englishmen felt that its alleged ambiguity outweighed its utility, as is evidenced by the acceptance which they have accorded it. What is further observable, beginning as hardly better than pietistic slang, it has come to be thoroughly liberalized and secularized. The Archbishop's exemplification of the manner in which we, like most Englishmen, often employ *realize*, is not, by the way, felicitous. F. H.

Notes.

A WORK dealing with Christianity and Socialism, called 'Vox Clamantium,' is to be published by A. D. Innes & Co., London. Hall Caine, S. R. Crockett, Richard Le Gallienne, Lewis Morris, Alfred Russel Wallace, Tom Mann, and Dean Stubbs are among the contributors.

Another coöperative work is 'A Policy of Free Exchange,' announced by the Appletons, with Thomas Mackay for editor, and Wm. Maitland, St. Loe Strachey, W. M. Acworth, Bernard Mallet, and the Hon. Alfred Lyttelton among the chapter writers.

A new 'Harmony of the Gospels' is about to be issued by Silver, Burdett & Co., Boston.

Siborne's 'Waterloo Campaign' has been issued in a new edition in England, in the "War Library" (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons). The book itself is the standard English authority for the campaign of 1815, and the new edition is an excellent example of cheapening without spoiling the form of the publication. The paper is good, the type is clear, the maps and illustrations really help the reader; so that one gets in the stout 16mo of eight hundred pages everything that was essential in the atlas and two volumes 8vo of the earlier editions, while the price is reduced to a mere fraction.

The tenth volume of Mr. G. H. Wilson's 'Musical Year-Book of the United States' (season of 1892-1893) is late in making its appearance, but by way of compensation it contains almost twice as much matter as any of its predecessors. The main title is not sufficiently comprehensive, for the musical records of the Canadian cities are also included in these pages. Mr. Wilson has found the task of collecting and editing all this material too great for one man, and has therefore invoked the assistance of Messrs. Cady, Krehbiel, and Hale to superintend the Chicago, New York, and Boston sections, while Mr. Wilson took care of the Columbian Exposition music, of which a full record is given. More than a hundred cities are included in the alphabetical list, and it is surprising to find how many of them had orchestral and choral concerts. Indeed, Mr. Cady calls attention to the fact that in some places the ambition displayed is altogether too great. Among players every one wants to be a soloist, and the young choral societies are not satisfied with anything but the biggest and most difficult works. Mr. Hale, in his review of the Boston season, is unjust to Mr. Nikisch, and writes entirely in a cynical tone which will do little to help along an exotic art in need of tender nursing to grow among us. To musicians, and conductors in particular, nothing could be more valuable for study and comparison than the full programmes here given of all the Seidl, Damrosch, Nikisch, and Thomas concerts of the last season. A comparison of the composers shows that Wagner usually leads, Beethoven coming second. As regards our oldest and leading orchestral society, the Philharmonic, Mr. Krehbiel notes that financially the last season was the most successful one in its history, the sum paid to each active member of this coöperative society for twelve concerts having been $246, which was $21 more than he ever received before. The 'Year-Book' is published by Clayton F. Lummy, Chicago.

Mr. Winfrid A. Stearns of the Atlanta University has gathered in pamphlet form the articles on bird-life in Labrador which appear-

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ed serially in the *American Field* of Chicago. The mechanical work has been done almost entirely by nearly seventy-five colored persons of both sexes, and the brochure shows what good printing this class can be taught to produce.

A handsome "monthly review of current scientific investigation" has just been launched by the Scientific Press, No. 428 Strand, W. C., London, under the title of *Science Progress*. An editorial committee, well distributed among the specialties, coöperates with Messrs. Henry C. Burdett and J. Bretland Farmer, the conductors. One of the number, Prof. G. B. Howes, has a brief but effective paper on "The Present Outlook of Vertebrate Morphology," which he regards as good in virtue of a reaction against excessive devotion to the idea "that ontogeny is generally recapitulatory of phylogeny." Another very interesting review, by W. B. Hemsley of Kew, is on "Insular Floras."

Bibliographica is the title of a quarterly magazine modelled remotely on M. Octave Uzanne's *Le Livre*, with an appointed life of only three years. It is to be published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. in London, and by Charles Scribner's Sons here. The list of contributors is exclusively British, except that contributions are expected from M. Octave Uzanne and M. Henri Beraldi; no American name appears in the announcement. Among the contributors are Austin Dobson, Andrew Lang, Richard Garnett, William Morris, A. W. Pollard, and Miss Prideaux. Among the topics to be treated are manuscripts, early printed books, libraries, book sales, illustrations, book-plates, and bindings. The "Bibliography of Early Printed Music" is a promising paper, and so is the "Vicissitudes of Manuscripts."

The *Mémorial Diplomatique*, whose unique value for publicists and journalists as a record of the text of diplomatic documents has been long established, will branch out somewhat in the new (32d) volume upon which it is just entering. It has secured the collaboration of distinguished writers who will still further enhance its value and readability. For the sake of extending its circulation it offers a trial subscription for one month for the mere postage—fifty centimes.

The *Revue Blanche*, in its March number, adds to the store of Stendhaliana by the publication of two documents not hitherto known. One is a little paper of useful hints upon Italian travel, entitled 'Avis aux têtes légères,' which Beyle drew up for the use of his two sisters, who, in the autumn of 1824, were setting out upon a southern journey. It is of no great value, save that it incidentally throws a little light upon the state of the soul of the writer. The other document is both interesting and curious. It is a record of the impressions of a juror at the trial of one Berthet, an ex-seminarian, who shot a certain Mme. Michoud while she was in church assisting at mass. This story is really a key to Stendhal's 'Le Rouge et le Noir.' Berthet is Julien Sorel, whose history furnishes the groundwork and main lines of the novel; and hints of some other of its personages, like Mme. de Rénal and even Mathilde de la Môle, appear.

The most interesting article in *Petermann's Mitteilungen* for February is an account of southeastern Borneo by G. Schneiders, a mining engineer. The mineral resources of the island consist of gold, platinum, diamonds, coal, lead, copper, antimony, and other minerals of less importance. Two obstacles have hitherto prevented their full development, the want of means of conveyance between most of the mineral districts and the coast, and the restrictive policy of the Government, which will grant concessions of land for mining or agricultural undertakings only to the native-born Dutch or to foreigners who have for a long time been residents in the Dutch colonies. There is also great difficulty in obtaining labor. The Chinese are the best workmen, but the Government for some years has not permitted any of this industrious race to enter Borneo, apparently from motives of self-preservation. Herr Schneiders formed a very favorable impression of the Dyaks, the so-called head-hunters of the interior, who proved themselves useful as guides and hunters. Their religion he describes as a debased fetishism, though the ruins of ancient temples, and antique vases filled with gold and silver which are objects of special reverence, are memorials of a once-prevalent Buddhism. An admirable map after the most recent Government surveys accompanies the paper. This is followed by a physical description of Montenegro by Dr. K. Hassert, who discusses the cause of the present treeless condition of the high plateau, and calls attention to the great progress made in the cultivation of the fertile district bordering upon the Lake of Scutari. It is illustrated by a map colored so as to show the character of the soil and its products in all parts of the principality.

The committee having in charge the Sixth International Geographical Congress, which is to be held in London in 1895—the last was held in Berne in 1891—have issued a circular indicating in general terms the programme on which they desire the Congress to be conducted. The most interesting feature is the announcement that "geographical problems connected with colonization will probably be dealt with in some detail, and therefore those interested in or connected with the colonies of all European countries are especially invited to attend." Communications may be made in French, German, Italian, or English. There will be a Geographical Exhibition in connection with the Congress.

The departure of the pioneer company of Freeland colonists for British East Africa, and the announcement that a second expedition is to follow next month, the precursors of thousands of colonists from every part of Europe, has excited much comment. Mr. Stanley and other writers have pointed to the grave complications which may arise from the fact that an Austrian association is about to occupy territory within the British sphere of influence. Then, it is asked, who is to guarantee that the rights of the natives will be respected by this irresponsible community of whites? The statement has been made that the colony was to be planted on certain unoccupied but fertile highlands to the east of Mt. Kenia. It seems very doubtful, however, if any land fit for European colonization is uninhabited. The fact that the pioneer expedition is heavily armed (the question of taking machine-guns was discussed) would seem to indicate that the leaders expected to be obliged to use force in taking possession of their allotted territory, or to defend themselves afterwards. This lends a grimly comical incongruity to the latest attempt to solve the social problem and to secure to each man the right to the profit from his own labor.

In a letter to the London *Times* Mr. Fred G. Jackson announces that the funds have been provided to enable him to carry out his long-contemplated polar expedition. It will consist of a sledging party of six men and a few Samoyeds, and the base of operations will be the southern shore of Franz Josef Land. Here substantial winter quarters will be established, and, in the spring, depots at intervals of thirty or forty miles will be made as far as possible to the north. Light canvas collapsible boats are to be carried for use in case there should be any open water. In this way, Mr. Jackson, who has had considerable arctic experience, hopes to reach the Pole. He expects to start this summer and to be absent three years.

Dr. E. Knipping, formerly meteorologist of the Imperial Japanese Weather Service at Tokyo, and now of the Deutsche Seewarte at Hamburg, publishes in the *Archiv* of that institution for 1893 a useful paper on the tropical typhoons of the South Sea, between the Paumotu Archipelago and the Australian continent. The research is based upon all the storms observed during a century and more just passed, the sources of information are given, and the frequency of the hurricanes and their paths are plotted. About 90 per cent. of the 125 hurricanes discussed took place in our winter season, December to March, nearly a tenth in April and November, with a few scattering ones in May, September, and October. Regular increase in the number of storms from December to March obtains near the Fiji Islands, while in the vicinity of the Samoan Islands and New Caledonia the epoch of greatest frequency falls in the month of January. The prevalent direction of these dangerous cyclones is southeasterly, and Dr. Knipping's long sea service, together with his high meteorological attainments, qualify him excellently for the preparation of such sailing directions as he has incorporated in his paper for the use of ships caught within the range of these destructive typhoons.

A curious incident, which is not without a certain scientific interest, has lately happened at the menagerie of the museum at Paris. Some time last year Baron Walter Rothschild gave an apterix to the museum. This bird is rare in New Zealand, which is the only place where it is known to exist, and of the very greatest rarity in Europe, since it is of so delicate a habit that almost all the specimens that have been sent have died on the voyage. The managers of the museum, therefore, as was natural, treated their prize with lavish care. A special cage was made for him, the temperature of which was watched anxiously, and his food, which consisted of meat only, was carefully chosen and prepared. But before very long, nobody knew how, he suddenly disappeared, and nothing was heard of him till the night of March 8, when he was discovered by a night watchman and brought back. The tender exotic had been living, as it appears, in the cellars of some new houses that are building in the Rue Buffon, and had been for the last five months exposed to the rigors of a cold climate, getting his food when and how he could. He comes out of this difficult experience in the best of health and of condition.

From a brief obituary notice of the late Mr. George William Childs which appears in the *Revue Encyclopédique* of March 15 we transcribe the following bit of literary news: "Childs a publié sous son nom un recueil d'anciennes ballades."

A gentleman in Cambridge writes to us as follows: "Passing Gore Hall the other day, I was forcibly reminded that in library administration the balance between the power to buy books and the capacity for storing can be rudely disturbed. They are carting away for storage 15,000 of the least used—not unused—books in Harvard College Library to make

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room for new purchases. In a year's time another thinning out will be necessary, and then the library of a great university will be put in the ridiculous position of the library of Congress, piling its books as if they were cords of wood."

The formation is announced in England of a Brontë Society, the object of which is to acquire literary, artistic, and family memorials of the Brontës; photographs of persons and places identified with them and their works in Yorkshire, Ireland, Cornwall, Essex, Brussels, etc.; copies of all books and fugitive articles illustrating the novels and the districts in which the Brontës resided—to place these acquisitions at Haworth, or some other appropriate locality, for the free inspection of members of the Society, and to offer them for public exhibition. The annual fee for membership of this Society is a half crown, due January 1, and for this an annual report will be sent post free in the following December; the fee will also cover free admission to the Museum when established. Life membership may be secured by payment of two guineas. Membership fees may be sent to Mr. F. C. Galloway, West Bowling, Bradford, Yorkshire. Mme. Emma C. Cortazzo, 330 Dartmouth Street, Boston, will be glad to furnish information on this subject, unofficially, to those interested.

—The *Century* for April is freakishly made up at the beginning by means of a story without words, as we may call it—"From the Old World to the New," a series of not extraordinary designs by André Castaigne, showing the transformation of an immigrant into an American. This number adds to Lincoln literature an article by Mr. John G. Nicolay on Lincoln's Literary Experiments, with specimens in the form of verses, fragmentary notes for lectures, and a lecture, all hitherto unpublished. The verses were written in 1844, when a political campaign had taken Lincoln back to that part of Indiana where his boyhood was passed, and are full of the pathos of those early associations. The lecture on "Discoveries, Inventions, and Improvements" was delivered as late as 1860 in Springfield, Ill. It is evidently a mere skeleton which the ready speaker filled out to suit the occasion, but is characteristically humorous. Neither verses nor prose specimens are of value in themselves; but as phases of the development that produced the Gettysburg oration, they are interesting. An always timely subject is discussed by Col. George E. Waring, jr., in his paper on methods of sewage disposal, or, as he otherwise entitles it, "Out of Sight, Out of Mind." In "Hunting an Abandoned Farm in Connecticut," Mr. William Henry Bishop sets forth entertainingly a melancholy situation, though he gives good reasons for considering it less bad than has been reported. "Topics of the Time" discusses the Myers ballot-machine, a contrivance for insuring an honest vote by eliminating as far as possible the human element from it. The "Open Letter" on forestry legislation in Europe gives valuable data on this subject.

—In *Harper's* Mr. George W. Smalley discourses on the House of Lords, or "English Senate." He ranges the opponents of the House of Lords into three classes: those who, like John Morley, would abolish it altogether; those who would abolish it if some more efficient and popular substitute could be provided; and those who would reform the existing House. To this last category belong those of the Lords themselves who are sufficiently abreast of the times to realize that a change must come and to dare to espouse it. Among these is the present premier, Lord Rosebery, who twice—in 1884 and in 1888—proposed to his colleagues to reform themselves. His propositions were of course defeated, the second by a vote of 97 to 50. An article on Yale University, by Prof. Arthur T. Hadley, describes the evolution from the embryo of 1700 that was afraid to call itself a college, to the flourishing institution of to-day. Prof. Hadley lays stress on the importance to the recent progress of the university of the incorporation of the Sheffield Scientific School as a coördinate department in 1886, and the liberalizing of the academic courses which President Dwight has brought about. The professional schools and the post-graduate courses have also been weighty elements in the change, introducing as they have done a large body of advanced students whose presence is an example and a helpful stimulus to the undergraduates. The article closes with a sympathetic defence of athletics, in the course of which the rather specious remark is made that the "high-stand" man works for himself, whereas the athlete works for the college—as if the adulation the successful athlete receives were not the most personal of incentives.

—Readers of the *Atlantic* will find an opportune article in A. Lawrence Lowell's "The Referendum in Switzerland and America." Those who object to any further extension of this institution in the United States will not overlook the recent examples in Switzerland of its enabling ignorance to hinder, and prejudice to compel, legislation. For example, by means of the referendum, compulsory vaccination has been abolished on the one hand, and on the other a persecuting measure against the Jews has been embodied in the Constitution, in defiance of the advice of the highest legislative body. It is, moreover, an expensive piece of governmental machinery, as the author demonstrates. He emphasizes the fact that Switzerland is a small country, with comparatively little legislation, whereas in any one of our States the amount of such legislation would make a similar use of the referendum impracticable, not to say impossible, on physical grounds alone, and costly in the extreme. In the other political paper of the month, William R. Thayer considers some causes of the Italian crisis. The two literary essays are on "Nature in Old English Poetry," and "Early Latin Poetry," by Richard Burton and Prof. R. Y. Tyrrell respectively.

—*Scribner's Magazine* devotes, as usual, a good deal of its space to art. The frontispiece, a *genre* picture by Frank Bramley, A.R.A., gives Mr. Hamerton the opportunity for a brief sketch of the Newlyn school, of which this artist is a prominent member, and incidentally of Newlyn itself, a quaint little fishing village near Penzance, England, where the twenty or more painters composing the school have formed a colony. There is an elaborate article on "French Caricature of To-day," by Arsène Alexandre; and William A. Coffin has a "Word about Painting," in which he warns the American school against the sensationalism and affectation that threaten to pervade it. The literary article of the month is from the pen of Austin Dobson, who writes in his pleasant style of Mr. Robert Dodsley and his book-shop "At Tully's Head," in Pall Mall. Like Rousseau, Dodsley served an apprenticeship as lackey, but he had the ability to raise himself from his menial position, and to become both a literary success himself and a patron of greater writers. Mr. Bunner's "The Bowery and Bohemia" is disappointing and inadequate; each topic—the quarter, and the tribe of poor artists and writers supposed to haunt it—being made the excuse for bringing in the other, without anything in particular being said about either.

—Mr. Lester F. Ward, who has done yeoman's service before in the cause of fair play for women, has an article in the *Monist* for April, in which he holds up to ridicule the argument by which Ferrero would show that women ought not to engage in productive labor. The theory that women are to "sit on a cushion and sew up a seam," is part and parcel of the theory that they exist only for the pleasure of men—a theory little congenial to the hardy Anglo-Saxon race, though it is the warp and woof of the views concerning the relation of the sexes which prevail in Italy and France. In Max Nordau's new book, 'Degeneration'—the technical name of that form of mental disease which the author shows to be the characteristic of the writers "de tout à-l'heure" in France, and of which erotomania is the most constant symptom—it is pointed out that nothing is more futile than to address argument to persons in that condition, and it is not any more likely that Prof. Ward's argument will be effective in the quarter against which it is directed. But for one who enjoys an admirable presentation of a subject, supported by wide-reaching biological and sociological considerations, his article will prove most interesting reading. In one passage, however, there seems to be a curious error on the part of the proof-reader. It stands thus:

> "The whole upper part of the animal series may be regarded as anomalous; and the anomaly is a radical one, since it represents a change from normal female superiority to abnormal male superiority—a change brought about by the females themselves through sexual selection, whereby they have surrendered their sceptre and bartered their empire for an æsthetic gratification. To some this may seem a degeneracy, but few would wish wholly to restore the Amazonian régime."

The writer doubtless intended to say "few *men* would wish," etc. There would seem to be no reason why women should look with disfavor upon a return to nature in the shape of a restoration of female supremacy, any more than men find the abnormal régime which prevails at present peculiarly distasteful to them.

—A subject of the greatest difficulty and delicacy is brought up by the proposal of the Belgian Government to authorize children born out of wedlock to investigate their paternity by legal measures. The *Réforme Sociale*, in commenting upon this proposal, calls attention to the fact that the French code explicitly prohibits any such proceeding. It is evident that this proposal goes much further than one giving the mother a right of action against the father, which to a certain extent is known to our statute law, and which is covered partly by the legal fiction of loss of service to the parents. Whether any good result will be attained by allowing illegitimate offspring, when they reach the age of twenty-one years, to bring actions to establish their parentage, is very doubtful. Should the experiment be tried in Belgium, as seems probable, the result will be everywhere watched with a lively interest. We observe, by the way, that Mr. Robert T. Swan, the Massachusetts Commissioner of Public Records, in his current (sixth) report, returning to his useful theme of the overworked town clerk, states

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that "some clerks record as the father of an illegitimate child the person named by the mother, and such a record has been used in court; others have awaited the decision of the court in bastardy proceedings before inserting the name of a father, while as a rule, either 'Unknown' is entered or a blank space is left to puzzle searchers of the records hereafter."

—Mr. Swan's exposure of the excessive, unreasonable, indefinite, and ineffective requirements of town clerks in Massachusetts deserves careful study by legislators and legal reformers. Entries on the records are enjoined of matters concerning which the clerk has no official knowledge, while those who have have no right to meddle with his records. For instance, "he must send to the Board of Prison Commissioners the name of the chief of police, and is under penalty if he neglects it, although he has no official knowledge of the appointment, and it is a question, moreover, whether such an officer exists under the statutes." Again, "bonds of certain town officers are to be filed 'with the town.' The clerk is custodian of the files, and consequently is custodian of his bond for dog-license money, and, if also treasurer or collector, of his bond as such. In one town a defaulting clerk and collector destroyed his bond." From all this results the greatest want of uniformity in keeping the records, the most slovenly care of them. The more faithfully and fully they are preserved, the greater the problem how to store them securely, and this is the problem with which the commissioner is principally concerned. He recommends, on the one hand, a law providing for the destruction of rubbish at certain intervals, and, on the other, a law making the elective town clerk's term at least three years, and the county clerk's five, "and politics should be ignored." The good effect of the statute creating the commissioner has been, by rendering vaults and safes necessary for the preservation of the records, to lead to the erection of town halls, library or memorial buildings, "built wholly or in part by individuals," with provision in them for town offices. In the smaller towns Mr. Swan recommends that vaults or safes be provided at the charge of the Commonwealth. He illustrates his report with photographic copies of mutilated early records, two of them from the town of Natick, the scene of Eliot's labors, exemplifying "probably the only town records in that [Indian] language in the State." Finally, he proposes an act to establish a State standard record ink. As we have had occasion to say before, these reports have a universal interest, and it appears that Rhode Island has lately taken notice of them, and is doing something to rescue its records from dispersion and decay.

—In the almost entire absence of local government in Ireland, the position of magistrate (with appended initials, J. P., "Justice of the Peace") carries with it perhaps more weight than in Great Britain. J. P.'s, in conjunction with stipendiary magistrates, dispense justice in the local courts. They grant or refuse spirit licenses. They outnumber on the poor-law boards the elected guardians. It has always been the policy of both British parties to reward adherents in Ireland and strengthen their own position by appointments to the bench. A recent Parliamentary return (No. 463, session 1893), giving the occupations and religious persuasions of Irish magistrates, is therefore particularly interesting. We learn that 3,821 are Protestants and 1,403 Catholics—the relative percentage of Protestants and Catholics in the population being 25 per cent. and 75 per cent. respectively. In some counties, as in Wicklow, where the Catholics form 79 per cent. of the population, the proportion of Catholic magistrates is but 11 per cent. of the whole number. Strange to say, in Belfast there is the nearest approach to an equilibrium —20 per cent. of the magistrates and 26 per cent. of the population being Catholics. Upon the whole, considering the measures formerly taken to depress the Catholics, and the fact that their appointment to the bench began only in 1829, the proportionate number to which they have attained takes us somewhat by surprise. Of the total 5,224, 3,182 belong distinctly to the ascendancy class, while 1,439 are more of the people—merchants, traders, farmers, or physicians—leaving a balance of 603 whose sympathies it may be difficult to surmise.

A NEW EDITION OF THE MORTE DARTHUR.

The Birth, Life, and Acts of King Arthur, of his Noble Knights of the Round Table, their marvellous Enquests and Adventures, the Achieving of the San Greal, and in the end Le Morte Darthur, with the Dolourous Death and Departing out of this World of them all. The text as written by Sir Thomas Malory and imprinted by William Caxton at Westminster in the year MCCCCLXXXV and now spelled in modern style. With an Introduction by Professor Rhŷs and embellished with many original Designs by Aubrey Beardsley. Volume I. London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. 1893.

Sir Thomas Malory has no reason to complain of the "iniquity of oblivion." To be sure, he has been pretty well obscured in person—for the editors and critics have not made up their minds whether he was an Englishman or a Welshman, sir knight or sir priest—but his book has had a vogue that he little dreamed of. The causes of this popularity it would be interesting to investigate. So far as they coincide with merits in the book itself, they have been often set forth; but there are other causes which one must suspect have been no less potent though less talked about. In the first place, the 'Morte Darthur' "met a demand," "filled a long-felt want." Caxton tells us that he was urged by many noble gentlemen to publish some account of King Arthur, and that, when his scruples as to the historical reality of that "King and Emperor" had been in some sort removed by the citation of Gawain's skull and Cradock's mantle, and the tomb at Glastonbury, and other pieces of extant testimony, he consented. How much of this entertaining preface is mere publisher's flourish, it is hard to say, but one thing is certain: the 'Morte Darthur' met with immediate success. It was very convenient for all kinds of readers to have a body of the scattered Arthur romances at hand in a single volume and in the vernacular, and the work became at once for Englishmen the orthodox version of the whole "matter of Britain." Few inquiries were made as to the taste with which Sir Thomas had selected his materials, or the fidelity with which he had reproduced his French originals. An interested and uncritical public was waiting for some such compilation, and a welcome was ready for it in advance.

In the pseudo-classical period Malory's renown suffered eclipse. His subject was too "romantic" for the classicists, and his language and sentiments were too "rude." But even the pseudo-classical influences have contributed indirectly to his subsequent fame. They made the whole Arthurian matter seem so remote that, when the dawn of the Romantic revival appeared, few Englishmen were tempted to search beyond Malory for older forms of these stories. The 'Morte Darthur' emerged again into the light of popularity, and regained without an effort its position as the orthodox version. Even to-day, when the Old French romances have lost something of their remoteness, Malory's compilation, whether immediately or through the adaptations of Tennyson and others, is the main source of our ideas about the Round Table and consequently of many of our literary conventions about the middle ages.

The language in which the book is written is no doubt another cause of its popularity. Archaic enough to be attractive, and not too archaic to be readily intelligible to cursory readers, Malory's diction has flattered many excellent persons into the belief that they were masters of Old English—and that has been no small recommendation for it. This is not a dignified ground for admiring a piece of literature, but it has none the less had its part in calling forth the somewhat extravagant praise which the 'Morte Darthur' has met with. Apart from its antique flavor, Malory's style has no doubt a charm of its own; but this charm, we suspect, would not have prompted such epithets as "incomparable" and "unapproachable" but for the titillation of the reader's vanity just refered to. However, we have no wish to run a tilt at the highly decorative figure of the old knight that modern critics have done their best to keep in the lists. The 'Morte Darthur' is indisputably a classic, and we should be sorry to see it despised. It may be hoped, notwithstanding, that tract of time will bring about a somewhat more discriminating regard.

The scholar has many quarrels with Sir Thomas Malory—but those are private affairs to be fought out at a distance from newspaper publicity. The lover of literature has his quarrel, too, and that of a more serious nature and not to be compounded without great argument. Malory is perhaps to be credited with having kept the Arthur stories alive in the knowledge of modern English writers; but his deserts in this direction, however considerable, are almost counterbalanced by a very special demerit. Selecting his materials (and perhaps forced to select them) without much discrimination, he has reproduced and made almost exclusively current various late and bad versions of excellent old stories, and—what is worse—various scandalous misrepresentations of heroic personages. The vogue of the 'Morte Darthur' has been so great that the moderns have too seldom gone beyond it for literary material, and, as a result, the book has impoverished our literature only less than it has enriched it. The most flagrant offence of this kind is the case of Sir Gawain.

In the earlier romances of the Arthur cycle Gawain is a most amiable and charming person. He is invincible in the field and in the lists, but he is even more remarkable for his courtesy. This courtesy is of the true ring; it is not hollow, it is not acquired, it is a part of the man's nature, and finds expression in every word he says and every deed he does. His faith is unblemished; his generosity and the nobility of his heart are unwavering. This is the Gawain of the old French verse romances —the Chevalier au Lion, the Perceval, and the rest—and this is the Gawain of the fourteenth-century romances in English. He is seen at his best in the beautiful 'Gawain and the

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Green Knight,' by an unknown contemporary* of Chaucer.

This, however, is not the Gawain to whom Malory introduces us. Following late French prose romances which had systematically debased Gawain to exalt Lancelot, he has represented the paragon of the Round Table as a pitiful, treacherous creature—a blusterer and a bully. Tennyson follows Sir Thomas, and so we have the flower of Arthurian chivalry maligned in such verses as these:

"Light was Gawain in life, and light in death
Is Gawain, for the ghost is as the man."

"The hall long silent till Sir Gawain—nay,
Brother, I need not tell thee—foolish words—
A reckless and irreverent knight was he."

"To this the courteous prince
Accorded with his wonted courtesy—
Courtesy with a touch of traitor in it!"

And hence, too, we have the unforgivable libel of 'Pelleas and Etarre.' We cannot help thinking that this degradation of Gawain, which has robbed modern literature of a figure that it very much needs—an Arthurian hero with no nonsense about him—is a heavy charge on the soul of Sir Thomas Malory.

But, whatever our grudges against Malory, and however much we may feel inclined to protest against the superlatives so often applied to him, we must extend a cordial welcome to the present edition. It is, of course, not meant for specialists, whose needs have been competently met by the elaborate volumes of Dr. Sommer. It is not intended to be studied, but to be read—for it is beautifully printed in large type and with commendably black ink—and to be looked at, for it is a rather sumptuous book and has an abundance of pictures. The text is Southey's, with some corrections. The spelling and punctuation have been judiciously modernized, but the grammar and phraseology have not been interfered with. There are glosses—rather scanty, it must be admitted, and not always exact—at the foot of the page. There is an interesting preface by Prof. Rhŷs, which occupies itself chiefly with Arthur in Welsh literature, but, of course, settles nothing. The volume before us contains nine books of the 'Morte Darthur'; a second volume will complete the work.

The designs with which Mr. Aubrey Beardsley has embellished this volume are frankly decorative rather than illustrative. The ladies are very lank and often snaky-haired, the knights are seldom athletic in appearance, and there is a vast deal of posing. But on the whole the full-page pictures assist one to enjoy the book, and the headpieces of the chapters, as well as the borders which adorn the first page of each of the larger divisions, are almost uniformly successful. At three things, notwithstanding, we must enter a protest: the hideous caricature labelled "Merlin," which should be relegated to the forest of Broceliande as soon as possible; the ugliness of some of the ladies' faces, which makes the sense ache at them; and the Ethiopian cast of countenance given to Morgan le Fay and La Beale Isoude.

* Mr. Gollancz's conjecture that this was Ralph Strode, the philosopher, can hardly be taken seriously.

TWO ENGLISHWOMEN.—I.

The Story of Two Noble Lives, being Memorials of Charlotte, Countess Canning, and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford. By Augustus J. C. Hare. 3 vols. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1894.

It is to be regretted that the editor of these volumes should have added to the interesting materials placed in his hands so much that is irrelevant. There is also a good deal of repetition, and, besides inserting a number of letters from Lady Waterford to himself, scarcely one of which contains matter of general interest, the editor has introduced long extracts from his own letters and diaries which might well have been abridged if not altogether omitted. He would have done wisely had he confined his work to two volumes.

Charlotte Stuart, Countess Canning, and Louisa Stuart, Marchioness of Waterford, were the only children of Sir Charles Stuart, afterwards Lord Stuart de Rothesay, and Lady Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Hardwicke. Sir Charles Stuart was appointed British Ambassador in Paris on the conclusion of the peace in 1815, and remained there for many years, residing in the house purchased for the British Embassy from Pauline Borghese, the favorite sister of Napoleon Bonaparte. Here Charlotte, named after her godmother Queen Charlotte, was born in 1817, and Louisa in the following year. Their grandmother, the Countess of Hardwicke, who was a very shrewd old lady, wrote in 1820 a curiously accurate description of the characters of the two children:

"Charlotte is almost beautiful, and quite fascinating, which is more than beauty. She will be one, I think, who will chain men to her while she hangs on them for support. Louisa will need no man's help, but will be mainly able to give it in mind and body. Charlotte will have her reign early, but Louisa will establish hers, though late, permanently."

Both sisters were beautiful. Charlotte was lovely from a child, with one of the most expressive countenances ever seen; Miss Berry used to say of her, "One cannot speak of Char [her name in her own family] in sober terms of praise." Louisa's beauty, which was far more striking, developed later. Charlotte, when seventeen, became attached to Charles Canning, the only surviving son of the great statesman. He was a young man of the utmost promise, having taken a first-class in classics and a second in mathematics at Oxford; but Lord Stuart de Rothesay (who, whatever were his talents as Ambassador, seems to have been most trying in his own family) vehemently opposed the marriage, solely on account of his political animosity to Charles Canning's father, who had then been dead for some years. Charlotte was forbidden to speak to her lover, but she used to watch him through the railings of the parapet as he rode past her father's house. Old Lady Hardwicke was most indulgent to her grandchildren, although until her death at the age of ninety-five she ruled her daughters, one of whom was then seventy-six, with a rod of iron. She at length induced Lord Stuart to consent to the marriage, and it took place in 1835. In 1837 Charles Canning succeeded to the peerage created in favor of his mother, and became Viscount Canning. Lady Canning was appointed lady in waiting to Queen Victoria, and never were sovereign and subject more devoted to each other. Like her sister, Lady Waterford, she could never bear to be idle. In 1854 she was active in selecting nurses to send out to the Crimea. She saw numbers of volunteers and had to reject many, but finally she sent out a party of really good nurses, under the command of Miss Nightingale. The Canning Nurses' Home in Calcutta, which has done excellent work, was thought to be the fittest memorial of her life in India. In 1855 Lord Canning was appointed to succeed Lord Dalhousie as Governor-General of India. Lady Canning had no wish to go, but her words were, "I will not take any part in the decision, only be ready to follow like a dog." India was indeed an exile to her. Those were not the days in which powers of organization like those of Lady Dufferin could have sway: the wife of the Governor-General was a mere figurehead, and led a life of complete isolation and of trying emptiness. This to Lady Canning was peculiarly galling, as may be gathered from scattered remarks in her letters.

The one pleasure of her life in India was the improvement of the gardens at Barrackpore, the country-house of the Governor-General, within a drive of Calcutta. Here she made terraces, planted shrubs, opened out views, and constructed a broad walk along the bank above the Ganges. She writes with delight of the banyan-tree under which she could sit, and of her double hedge—one side of poinsettia like a scarlet wall, the other of dark blue ipomæa. She began careful drawings of the beautiful flowers and shrubs, hundreds of which drawings are still preserved.

Serious difficulties had occurred in Oude before Lord Dalhousie was relieved by Lord Canning, and in 1857 the Indian mutiny broke out, almost unexpectedly. None of the authorities at first realized its extent, or the vast difficulties presented by any attempt to suppress it. It was a period of unexampled trial, danger, and responsibility for the Governor-General. During that terrible time Lady Canning never left her husband, bearing the trying heat of Calcutta, the monotony of the same ride or drive every day, the absence of all companionship, the constant arrival of bad or anxious news, the sad deaths of general after general sent to the front, and supporting Lord Canning through a period of strain the extent of which has never yet been fully grasped. Lord Canning could not even enjoy the refreshment of a drive to Barrackpore, for he dared not leave his post for an hour. Lady Canning wrote that he had hardly time for any rest or exercise, for "literally very few hours pass that there is not some matter of life and death to be decided." She continued her series of beautiful drawings of flowers from nature, finding that the occupation soothed her, for "the hands could go on and keep the head from working."

Neither Lord nor Lady Canning had the least apprehension of personal danger, although, after the European body-guard was established in Government House at night, Lady Canning acknowledged that it was right. The misrepresentations in the newspapers greatly troubled Lady Canning. In her letters home she once more contradicts the story of the greased cartridges said to have been forced upon the native troops in order, by depriving them of caste, to compel their conversion to Christianity. She absolutely contradicts the reports of mutilation of European ladies during the mutiny. Many indeed were killed, but without torture or delay. But Lady Canning was especially distressed by the spirit of revenge and the bloodthirsty feeling of Europeans in India. She gloried in the name of Clemency Canning, given to Lord Canning first as a nickname of contempt and reproach, but afterwards fully recognized as his best title of honor. She wrote home;

"It would charm the English-Indian public to hang and blow from guns any number of people, and I believe Canning is terribly unpopular because he is *just* and firm too. There is a positive thirst for blood: a spirit of revenge which is dreadful. I always say, 'Let us be severe and punish, but not unjustly, and, above all, let us be unlike these monsters, and not copy them.' But the things people say they would like to do are quite as bad as the acts of the Nana." "The burthen of all abuse in newspapers is always the same—leniency to natives! And that means an accusation for which

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they consider that recall in irons would be a faint punishment."

Lady Canning considered that the cry for vengeance in the English papers was nothing to the savage tone in Calcutta. "People here," she writes, "would like every Sepoy to be hanged at least—whether for his deeds or his thoughts. If one mildly observes that the men at Barrackpore, who have never been out of our sight, did not share in the massacres five or six hundred miles off, people say, Oh, but in their hearts they approved and would like to do the same by us." Lady Canning busied herself with preparations for the numbers of destitute widows and children who came down to Calcutta, most of whom were absolutely in rags and without shoes. After the relief of Lucknow a procession four miles in length was sent off, entirely composed of wounded officers, ladies, and children. Lady Canning gave up her own clothes to these ladies, and procured supplies of necessaries for them from her friends in England. It was her wish to have the marble figure of the Angel of the Resurrection holding the martyr's palm placed over the well at Cawnpore into which the Nana had thrown above two hundred English ladies and children.

When it was seen to be necessary that Lord Canning should remain in India for an additional year, Lady Canning, though writing of the bitter disappointment it was to give up counting the months till she should be at home, added that she would not grumble, as it was only fair that the heavy task of putting so much into working order should be done by an experienced Governor-General instead of a new one. Lord Clyde's message to her was that he felt Lord Canning would choose "to complete his bit of history." Lady Canning rejoiced in her husband's appointment as first Viceroy of India, as showing that his great services were at length appreciated, and she had, as Sir Bartle Frere wrote, "the unalloyed happiness of seeing justice gradually done to Lord Canning by his countrymen, while the natives look on him as their truest friend and benefactor." She delighted in his determination not to remain in India one day after the six years of exile were completed; and in her last letters she wrote, "I can think of nothing but the joy of getting home. . . . The hard trial of India is almost over." In August, 1861, Sir Hugh Rose, afterwards Lord Strathnairn, was invested with the order of the Star of India, and on that occasion Lady Canning, cheered by the thought of her return home, seemed to regain much of the "beauté merveilleuse" for which she had been celebrated. Those who saw her in her white dress and diamond coronet, with a spray of real ivy twisted in her beautiful hair, little thought that on that evening she was seen in public for the last time. A month later Lady Canning paid her long-wished-for visit to Darjeeling, taking advantage of Lord Canning's absence at Allahabad, where he invested with the Star of India the Begum of Bhopal, of whom he said: "She is not entitled to it by beauty; but for pluck, loyalty, and cleverness, she is a ruler in a thousand." Lady Canning thoroughly enjoyed Darjeeling, and "the wonderful view in which you see at a glance 27,000 feet out of a mountain 28,000 feet high." On her journey back she stopped to sketch in a marshy plain, and arrived at Calcutta on the 8th of November suffering from jungle-fever. She wrote one letter home, in which she spoke of Lord Canning's expected return as her best restorative. When he arrived on the 10th, she exerted herself to show him her Darjeeling sketches, but she never rallied, though she could always be aroused by his voice and would smile at him till extreme weakness ended in unconsciousness. On the 18th of November Lady Canning died in her husband's arms, spared, as her sister wrote, "from pain and from the agony of feeling what this news would cost us all." In the early morning of November 19 Lady Canning was buried in a spot chosen by Lord Canning in the private garden at Barrackpore, "close to the Ganges, shaded by great trees and the flowering shrubs she was so fond of, and looking upon the beautiful reach of the river she so often drew, and upon many of her own alterations and improvements."

Lord Canning never recovered from his great sorrow. On the first of March, 1862, that day so ardently wished for by Lady Canning, he left India, but he returned only to die. He could not bear to speak of his loss, and he never smiled. But when, shortly before the end of his illness, his sister said, "You are going to Char," his "whole countenance brightened up." Lord Canning was only forty-nine at the time of his death, Lady Canning, whom he survived seven months, only forty-five. It may truly be said that both laid down their lives in the service of their country.

DIPLOMATICS.

Manuel de Diplomatique: Diplomes et Chartes. Chronologie technique, Éléments critiques et Parties constitutives de la Teneur des Chartes. Les Chancelleries. Les Actes privés. Par A. Giry. 8vo, pp. xvi., 944. Paris: Hachette & Cie. 1894.

In the flood of sciolistic books of which the press is so prolific, it affords the critic no little satisfaction to meet with one like the present which is the outcome of abundant and accurate knowledge and of long and patient labor. Although it has the aspect of being intended only for the comparatively limited class of investigators who have to deal with charters and other original documents, such a work is indispensable to all students of history who seek for knowledge at its sources. It is a reproach to the English historical school that it has not yet fairly naturalized in the language the comprehensive term diplomatics, which may be found, it is true, in the dictionaries, but is still an exotic, unfamiliar to the vernacular, though for a couple of centuries it has been in common use among Continental scholars. No one who seeks to thread his way among chronicles and records but requires to have within reach some work of this kind with which to fix a date, to determine the accuracy of a narrative, to weigh the comparative probabilities of conflicting statements, or to test the genuineness of a document.

The questions which are thus continually arising are of the most varied character, and their solution involves the application of tests, many of them purely technical and all of them to be gathered only by patient scholarship from a vast variety of sources in which they lie hidden. Successive generations of scholars have labored at their accumulation since the time of Du Cange and the Benedictines of St. Maur. A glance at the table of contents of the nine hundred pages of this portly volume will show how wide a range of knowledge is required for the task—technical chronology, numismatics, palæography, sphragistics, philology, the nomenclature of individuals and of officials, the routine of the chanceries of the different nations, and the legal formalities customary at various times and places. Of these chronology alone occupies more than three hundred pages of closely digested matter. Few things are more puzzling to the novice than the variations in the computation of the new year, the changes in the calendar, the habit of dating by church festivals, fixed and movable, and saints' days, and the regnal years of obscure potentates and prelates; and even the expert continually requires tables and calendars for reference. It was not without reason that the Benedictines entitled their huge digest of history 'L'Art de vérifier les dates,' for the verification of dates often necessitates the most minute historical knowledge.

If the ability to determine the exact significance of genuine documents is thus of prime importance, none the less so is the capacity to discriminate between the genuine and the spurious. The forger has been busy in all ages, and the evidences of his industry are to be found in nearly all archives and cartularies. The popes, for instance, were constantly fulminating the direst threats against the manufacture and falsification of papal letters, and were as constantly unable to suppress the factories of such documents which flourished in Rome and other cities. There seems to have been nowhere the slightest hesitation in procuring and exploiting such fraudulent papers; and if they occur to the student most frequently among the muniments of abbeys and bishoprics, this was probably because the clergy were more versed than the laity in such mysteries, and were more careful in the preservation of their archives. M. Giry, indeed, tells us that a list of those who resorted to such devices would include all the ancient abbeys, but the secular clergy and the laity were equally eager thus to substantiate claims well or ill founded. The concluding chapters of his volume, in which he gives a rapid sketch of some of the more notable developments of this industry, are full of interest, although, somewhat strangely, he omits all reference to one of the most remarkable of all, the 'Plomos del Sacro Monte' and the 'Cronicones,' originating at the close of the sixteenth century, and, after condemnation by the Holy See, revived in the second half of the eighteenth by a factory of forged documents in Granada, which extended its operations until it furnished to all purchasers fraudulent wills, letters patent, titles of nobility, etc., etc.

To churches and abbeys forged charters were useful in establishing claims to lands and feudal rights and to immunities and privileges of every kind. In the case of laymen they might minister simply to the gratification of vanity in proving antiquity of lineage, or to more substantial pretensions of succession to inheritances and even to kingdoms. One famous in diplomatic annals is that by which the descendants of a certain Eudes le Maire claimed that in the eleventh century he performed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in vicarious performance of a rash vow made by Philippe I. of France, and was rewarded by an exemption from imposts for his posterity in both the male and female lines. In 1336 they succeeded in obtaining from the royal chancery a confirmation of the pretended grant; the race naturally multiplied all over France, for its daughters were most desirable matches, until there were thousands who in virtue of the privilege enjoyed immunity from all public burdens, and it was not until 1752 that it was definitely pronounced fraudulent. More generally known are the exploits of François de Rosières, Archdeacon of Toul, who supported the claims of the Guises to the crown of France by interpolations in their genealogy

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showing their descent from the Carolingians. Father André de Saint-Nicholas, Carmelite prior of Moulins, was a more accomplished forger, who produced charters showing the Carolingian descent of the house of Bourbon—charters which, although condemned as forgeries by Mabillon and Baluze, have been accepted and used by the authors of the 'Art de vérifier les dates,' the 'Gallia Christiana,' and the 'Recueil des historiens de la France.' Even Mabillon and Ruinart were deceived by a still more skilful fabricator, Jean-Pierre de Bar, who furnished Baluze with documents for his 'Histoire généalogique de la maison d'Auvergne,' showing that the Dukes of Bouillon were descended from the ancient Dukes of Guienne, and were thus on a level with the Bourbons. Baluze was more than suspected of complicity in the fraud, and suffered disgrace in consequence. Still more insidious is the document known as the 'Charte d'Alaon,' manufactured to support the pretensions of the Spanish Hapsburgs to the throne of France by proving the descent of the Kings of Aragon from the ancient kings and dukes of Aquitaine. This ingenious fraud, which purports to be a confirmation by Charles the Bold, in 845, of gifts to the monastery of Alaon in Urgel, with nine confirmations at various times up to 1041, has furnished a crowd of fictitious names and dates and facts to French history, where some of them still remain.

These few examples will show the exceeding caution with which the historian must scrutinize the documents before him. The difficulty increases ten-fold when frauds have been accepted by writers of authority and have passed into current books of reference, for then even the most carefully conscientious may be led astray. It is easy thus to understand how indispensable to the student is such information as M. Giry has here gathered together and presented clearly and methodically. In the chronological portion we could have wished that he had not omitted the Hijra from the tables, and that in place of the calendars borrowed from the Benedictines he had given us a series of almanacs similar to those in Augustus De Morgan's 'Book of Almanacs,' issued in 1851, which we have found much more convenient for daily reference. The 'Glossary of Dates' and the list of saints' days are fuller and more satisfactory than any we have hitherto met with, yet such compilations can never be wholly complete. *Vendredi de Crois aourée*, as a synonym of Good Friday, might save an inquirer some trouble. The reader of Spanish Chronicles might like to be told that *Nuestra Señora de la O* or *de Alaon* is the same as *Expectatio B. Mariæ*, December 18. Under St. Martin might be inserted *S. Martinus calidus* and *Saint-Martin bouillant* as synonymous with *St.-Martin d'été*. *Onze mille vierges* should find a place, with a reference to *Ursule* and *Virgines*. St. Peter Martyr, whose feast is April 29, is omitted. But these are trifling deficiencies which can readily be supplied in the future editions that must undoubtedly be called for of a work so convenient and so useful to all serious students of history.

BOOKS ABOUT THE STAGE.

Charles Lamb's Specimens of English Dramatic Poets who lived about the time of Shakespeare, including extracts from the Garrick Plays. Now first edited anew by Israel Gollancz, M.A. London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan & Co. 2 vols.

Plays and Dramatic Essays. By Charles Lamb. With an Introduction by Rudolf Dircks. London: Walter Scott; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Theatrical 'World' for 1893. By William Archer. London: Walter Scott; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Entre les Frises et la Rampe: Petites études de la vie théâtrale. Par Alphonse Daudet. Paris: Dentu; New York: F. W. Christern.

Écuyers et Ecuyères. Par le Baron de Vaux. Paris: J. Rothschild; New York: F. W. Christern.

HAS due meed of praise ever yet been paid to Lamb for his rediscovery of Shakspere's contemporaries in the drama? A rediscovery his publication of 'Specimens of English Dramatic Poets' assuredly was, and it was Lamb who pointed out the path to be followed by Gifford and Dyce, by Mr. Bullen and the other editors, on the one hand, while on the other he made the way straight for Hazlitt and Whipple, for Lowell and Mr. Swinburne. And all these critics, with scarce an exception, have said ditto to Lamb in considering Shakspere's predecessors and contemporaries and successors primarily as poets. But to consider Marlowe and Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger and Ford as poets only, as writers of beautiful verse fit to be quoted in a volume of extracts, is to take a very narrow view of the most glorious period of English literature. That Lamb did not take a broader view than this is obvious enough; indeed, he confesses it in a letter to Hone, saying, "Poetry is all I know." These volumes, which Mr. Gollancz has most admirably edited, are proof enough that Lamb did know poetry. But they are proof also, were any needed, that Lamb seemed not to care for the vital action which in a play should underlie the merely literary clothing. Lamb rarely picks out the really dramatic passages, the actable parts, the dialogues lending themselves to the highest histrionic treatment. In his hands, and in the hands of his followers, Hazlitt and Lowell and Mr. Swinburne, the dramatic value of the works of these poets of the stage has received only cursory consideration. Taine and the late Mr. Symonds are almost the only writers on this period of English literature who remember that Marlowe's "Faustus" and Massinger's "New Way to Pay Old Debts" and Webster's "Duchess of Malfy" were written primarily to be acted, and only secondarily to be read.

In the present volumes Mr. Gollancz reveals himself almost equal to Canon Ainger as a loving editor of Lamb. He has taken infinite trouble in incorporating the "Garrick Extracts" with the "Specimens," and in arranging them chronologically, as far as our present information will permit—for there is still an immense field of labor open to the future historian of the Elizabethan theatre. Mr. Gollancz has further corrected erroneous statements as to the authorship of the plays from which Lamb quoted, besides amending the text, in which there were countless faults. The introduction is a model of knowledge and sympathy and tact, and the two volumes exhibit throughout a welcome union of exact scholarship with an appreciation of what is best in literature.

Not worthy of comparison with Mr. Gollancz's masterly editing is the volume of selections edited by Mr. Rudolf Dircks, in the preparation of which he seems to have followed very closely a collection of 'Charles Lamb's Dramatic Essays' which an American author published two or three years ago; especially does Mr. Dircks's preface, both in what it contains and in what it omits, resemble the introductory essay of the American editor. Mr. Dircks's differs from the American collection chiefly in that it includes also Lamb's four plays. It contains the notes on the Elizabethan dramatists; and it omits the minor dramatic criticisms which the diligence of Lamb's later editors has disinterred.

Almost the only student of the acted drama who has called attention to Lamb's attitude toward the dramatic poets he loved is Mr. William Archer, who had a paper on "Webster, Lamb, and Shakspere" in the *New Review* of January, 1893, elicited by a special performance of the "Duchess of Malfy." We regret to find that this paper is not included in the volume of current theatrical criticism which Mr. Archer has now sent forth, and which we hope will be the first of an annual series. That the modern stage is awakening has long been evident to careful observers. There are men in England and in Germany (as well as in France and Scandinavia) who have something to say in the theatre, and who know how to say it as it must be said in the theatre. Although even now the material on which the dramatic critic must work is not as abundant in London as in Paris, it is far more so than it was a score of years ago, immensely more than it was in Lamb's day, for example. In Paris M. Sarcey still refuses to reprint his weekly articles in the *Temps*, but M. Jules Lemaitre reprints his, and so do men of less importance—the late Auguste Vitu, for example. Mr. Archer is easily the equal of M. Lemaitre as a critic of the acted drama; if he lacks a little of the brilliancy of the Frenchman, he has a keener insight into the conditions of the theatre, and a more cosmopolitan outlook. Mr. Archer is indeed the best dramatic critic of Great Britain since George Henry Lewes, and he is superior to Lewes in his devotion to the drama, which was only one of Lewes's many interests in life. Especially worthy of study is Mr. Archer's analysis of "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," and especially notable is his overwhelming retort to the doubtfully honest accusation that Mr. Pinero had plagiarized from Herr Lindau. In a letter of pleasant reminiscence joined with a discussion of the obvious improvement of the British drama of late years, Mr. Archer inscribes his book to Mr. Robert W. Lowe, the editor of Cibber's 'Apology' and of Doran's 'Annals.'

Into a volume of the pretty "Petite Collection Guillaume," M. Alphonse Daudet has gathered half a score of old newspaper articles of his, more or less connected with the theatre. They are slight and graceful and empty; the little book can be read in half an hour, and it will be forgotten in one-quarter of an hour. Two of the articles are reviews, one of M. Legouvé's 'Soixante ans de Souvenirs,' and the other of Fanny Kemble's 'Records of a Girlhood.' Perhaps the best of all is the first essay, flimsy as it is, "Le Comédien travaille," in which the method of study of leading French actors is considered.

Just how fairly a volume about circus riders may be called a book about the stage, need not be discussed here and now. The Baron de Vaux's 'Écuyers et Écuyères' is a higgledy-piggledy, helter-skelter conglomeration. There is a "preface" by M. Henri Meilhac, which is not a preface at all, but a delightfully clever letter of a would be bare-back rider's mother, with the response of the ex-rider to whom it is addressed. There is an "introduction" by M.

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Victor Franconi, surviving representative of the famous circus family, and a "study" of scientific riding by M. Maxime Gaussen. Then in the book itself are biographies by the Baron of some fifty celebrities of the circus, male and female, chiefly the latter, with accounts of various circuses in France and elsewhere, chiefly the former. Scattered through the text are about two hundred and fifty illustrations, portraits of modern riders, facsimiles of old engravings, sketches of difficult feats. The point of view is all but exclusively Parisian; one chapter does contain outline portraits of Barnum and Renz and Hengler. Yet the book will be precious to the future historian of the circus, who shall some day set before a waiting world the connected history of horsemanship and of the feats which delighted our ancestors as they delight us.

Historic Green Bay. 1634–1840. By Ella Hoes Neville, Sarah Greene Martin, and Deborah Beaumont Martin. Green Bay, Wis.: Published by the Authors. 1893.

"On the map drawn by Hennepin, dedicated by him to William III. of England, and published in 1697, the name Green Bay first appears. In tolerably correct form the Baye des Puans is traced, while the whole of the peninsula extending from the mouth of Fox River to Porte de Mort [*sic* for Butte des Mortes] is included under the general name of Baye Verte."

Such is the language of our authors (p. 178). The truth is, that on the map above mentioned neither of the names Green Bay and Baye Verte is to be found at all. The legend there is simply *Baye des Puans*. Nor yet is the name Green Bay discoverable on any other map till more than three-score years afterward. The earliest map known to us where it occurs is Carver's, published in 1778. The name Baye Verte appears, if at all, at a still later period. It is mentioned in this history as used by Judge Reaume, and we have traced it in various documents some years before his appointment, which was not till 1803. It was evidently a translation from the English Green Bay, and, therefore, later than that name. Baye Verte appears in Brodhead's 'New York Colonial History' (vii., p. 658) as early as 1764. But *that* Baye Verte is in Nova Scotia, though cited by some who have just enough of learning to misquote, as in Wisconsin.

The first writer who speaks of the name Green Bay seems to be Carver, who was there in 1766, and says: "Sept. 18, arrived at Ft. La Bay on a bay in Lake Michigan termed by the French the Bay of Puants, but which since the English have possession [1761] is called by them the Green Bay." He adds that they so called it because, when a voyager left Mackinaw before vegetation started, he would find all things already *green* at the Bay. It will be noticed that Carver calls the settlement on the bay Ft. La Bay, and not Green Bay. One of the earliest mentions of the town by the latter name was in 1804, when, according to Morse's Gazetteer, "Green Bay on Lake Michigan contains 50 souls."

We doubt whether the name Langlade should have the prefix De. It has none in his commission from the King, which our authors give in facsimile (p. 106). It is never used by Parkman. It is wanting in letters from Gov. Carleton, etc. Hence it has a pretentious look, being a *signe de noblesse*. Ticonderoga is said to stand at the *head* of Lake George (p. 104), the French dauphin to have died in the *tower* (p. 224), and reference is made to a hitherto unknown work of Parkman, 'A Half-Century of Dishonor' (p. 85). But the most surprising statement is, that "the savage horde came upon Braddock's army when encamped for dinner—that the camp was at once placed in an attitude of defence," etc., etc. (p. 100). Contrast this with a sentence in Parkman: "The advance had just passed a ravine, and the main column was on the point of entering it, when the savages yelled the war-whoop," etc. ('Wolfe and Montcalm,' i., 214).

Enough of fault-finding. 'Historic Green Bay' is an excellent book well indexed. The oldest real town in Wisconsin has such a story as no other town in the State can boast, and her daughters have told the story well. The peccadilloes to which allusion has been made are, as Horace would say, only freckles on a fair face. Nor would we be at pains to correct them did we not view the volume as worthy of more than one edition, and sure to have it. Life in Green Bay has been many-colored. The first pioneer adventured thither in quest of Chinese celestials. The next comer raised aboriginal aspirations to a celestial empire not of earth. The next brought firewater and firearms, taking furs more needed elsewhere. The town was a thoroughfare, the gate of the far South and the far West, whether men were traders, explorers, or warriors. Hence it was in touch with Jeff Davis, President Taylor, John Jacob Astor, and even a lost Bourbon prince visited there by Prince de Joinville (p. 225). In the silver ostensorium presented to the mission there in 1686 and still in perfect preservation, being now owned and treasured by the State Historical Society, it has a relic far older than anything extant west of the Alleghanies, and seldom surpassed anywhere in point of religious interest. Its art is worthy of its material, and its inscription more precious than either. In all these aspects and many others—especially as the oldest garrison town in the commonwealth—the authors have described their unique home. They have written a book which few can lay down till the last page has been read. That page sets forth to the life a maple-sugar camp—a "sugaring-off." If some things by the way have seemed bitter, here is a finale that will leave a sweet taste in all mouths.

An Introduction to the Study of Political Economy. By Luigi Cossa, Professor in the Royal University of Pavia. Translated by Louis Dyer, M.A., Balliol College. Macmillan. 1893. Pp. x, 587.

Students of political economy who design to devote themselves to a prolonged and comprehensive study of the subject have been placed under a great obligation to Prof. Dyer, in virtue of his painstaking translation of Prof. Cossa's unique work. Following the hint contained in a brief notice of the Italian original in No. 1447 of the *Nation*, the translator has added a subject-index, thereby very greatly enhancing the value of the work. For the benefit of those who think of buying the 'Introduction,' it seems proper to point out that its title is hardly calculated to convey a just idea of its scope and purpose. One naturally thinks of an "introduction" to a subject as a book for beginners, but nothing, in our judgment, could be less desirable than for a person innocent of political economy to start in with reading Cossa. The book is divided into two parts, a "Theoretical Part" of about one hundred pages, and an "Historical Part" of about four hundred and forty pages. The theoretical part discusses the scope and method of political economy, stating, in general with clearness, both the author's own views and the views of the most prominent writers on this head, and making running commentaries on the latter. Even this part, then, is not a systematic exposition of the logical and methodological aspect of political economy, expounded and illustrated for the benefit of beginners, but is largely historical and critical. As to the historical part, the mass of literature discussed in it is so enormous that analyses of even the most important works and characterizations of even the most important theories are necessarily too condensed to be illuminating to students who are not equipped in advance with a sound knowledge of the chief theories of the science.

Not a word of this is said, however, by way of depreciation; on the contrary, the book furnishes far more than any one could expect from its modest title: it really constitutes an extraordinarily comprehensive and in the main very acute critical and historical survey of political economy. The value of such a survey to the professed student of economics, both as a book to be read and as a book to be referred to, is evident. To be able to obtain, in the compass of a single volume, some characterization of the work of any one of the 2,000 writers on economics cited is in itself no small help. Fortunately, too, the enormous learning of the author is coupled with a shrewdness and common sense which frequently manifest themselves in more or less epigrammatic judgments calculated to exercise a very salutary influence upon the young economist. Thus, throughout the work, there abound expressions of the author's opinion that the departures from classical theories are, as a rule, rather matter of form than of substance. *E. g.*, on p. 65: "Mediocrity, conscious that it can make no useful discovery, will always make what noise it can over mere questions of form." Again, on p. 395, after bestowing the very highest praise upon Charles Gide, Cossa goes on to say that he is really "far nearer the company of the classical school than he would readily believe." Some of our author's remarks on the historical school may likewise be instanced; as where he speaks (p. 85) of their proposing "to shape economic legislation for to-day on an imperfect knowledge of yesterday's facts"; or where he says (p. 412) that, "in his most excellent monographs on value, on transportation, and in his masterpiece on money and credit, Knies seems to have forgotten all about his historical method." Finally, we may cite a passage (p. 361) in which Cossa defends the classical economists against certain German critics:

"Where, then, are we to find the lineaments conventionally drawn in so many pictures of the Manchester School, drawn especially by our German fellow-workers? There is nothing of all this in Mill, nothing in Cairnes, and nothing whatever in Marshall; on what, then, is the picture based? Is it not drawn from the inner consciousness of those who must have something which will be easy to demolish by argument?"

It must not be inferred from these examples (to which many equally striking ones might be added) of rather sharp criticism of modern "schools," that Cossa is a champion of the classical political economy pure and simple. On the contrary, he finds much to praise in the work that has been done in almost every direction in the past quarter of a century. Himself a pupil and admirer of Roscher, he has the greatest sympathy with historical research as applied to economics; and as to other directions which economic investigation has taken, both in our own time and in preceding generations, he has, in our judgment, only too cathe-

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lic an appreciation of the merit of all well-meant work. All the more weighty, then, is his insistence on the cardinal and permanent importance of the work of the great English economists.

But, after all, the usefulness of the book resides less in the author's expressions of opinion than in the comprehensive survey he gives us of the history of the science. To those familiar only with its development since the last quarter of the eighteenth century, its earlier history as sketched by Cossa will be full of interest. Thus, to be told that the first clear recognition of the connection between increase of population and improvement in the yield of the soil is contained in a work by Bolero, published at Rome in 1588, or that Ricci (1787) was the first to base upon the principle of population scientific maxims of almsgiving, or that Copernicus wrote, about 1526, upon the invitation of King Sigismund of Poland, a pamphlet which "explains clearly the functions of money," condemns debasement and seigniorage, and anticipates "Gresham's Law"—information like this will be equally new and interesting to most readers. Still, so far as the pre-scientific history of political economy is concerned, the strongest impression that will be produced on the thoughtful reader must be the realization of the wilderness of drivel, of obscure and groundless economic controversy, from which the world has been saved since the time of Adam Smith; for, murky as are some of the controversies of to-day, they are as light itself in comparison with the misty disputes of a hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago.

In Memoriam John Larkin Lincoln. 1817–1891. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1894.

THE task of criticising a book published by a son in commemoration of a father is always ungracious; but it is hard to give praise to the memorials of Prof. John Larkin Lincoln put together by Mr. W. E. Lincoln. The book is large and showy, and includes two portraits of Prof. Lincoln, taken so nearly at the same age that one seems superfluous; but its contents are singularly disappointing. The biographical matter includes a memorial address by Prof. George P. Fisher; autobiographical notes, diaries, and letters, comprising detached passages of early and middle life; and, later on, an appendix, with various personal anecdotes and reminiscences of friends. There is no continuous and authoritative life, unless a portion of the copious index may be called so, in which, under Prof. Lincoln's name, the principal events of his career are noted, including some not otherwise mentioned, notably his marriage; the names of his wife and children are not given, nor is any special mention made of them anywhere. Even of this meagre allowance of biography much is occupied by details of foreign travels, mostly over beaten tracks and affording little that is novel, while the mass of college anecdotes is like any other such mass—stories which doubtless provoked hearty laughs when told for the twentieth time at a commencement dinner, but few of which show any individuality. The best parts of the biography, if it may be so called, are the "Notes of Life," the Diary at Columbian College, and the Reminiscences of Lincoln's instructors in Germany.

The bulk of the volume consists of a dozen or more essays or lectures by Prof. Lincoln, a few of a biographical, but mostly of a literary and philosophical character. The subjects are chiefly taken from classical literature, as might be expected from a Latin professor. They all show the same characteristics—thorough and extensive reading, keen appreciation of outward form and literary relations, considerable power in bringing the substance of the subject before those to whom it is not much more than a name; but with no very great penetration into the deeper problems of such authors as Goethe, Lucretius, Plato, and Tacitus. The writer is throughout conservative, both in the old and legitimate, as well as in the new, use of the word; he is content with old lines of thought and expression, and thoroughly dislikes anything adventurous. Perhaps the best piece of criticism in these essays—and, after all, Freeman did the same thing much better—is an acute exposure of Mr. Gladstone's wild deduction of Homer's Olympian theology from the fragments of Hebrew tradition. But the essays as a whole show little more than the skill of the old-fashioned teacher, who gives his pupils a fair but not exciting account of what the world's geniuses have done, to the end that they may rejoice and be thankful that they themselves are not among them. If Prof. Lincoln's hearers must be informed of inflammatory branches of learning, it was expedient to keep the fuel of their minds seasonably damp.

At Brown University, confined by its constitution within certain recognized lines of thought, Lincoln's restrained learning was thoroughly acceptable. He was admired, respected, and loved. One contributor to the anecdotes in this volume can speak with fervor of his taste and skill in translation, whereas the versions in this essay are notably dry and conventional. He was exactly the man for the place, where a freer and profounder scholarship would have been distrusted and disliked. His grateful pupils subscribed for the portrait by Herkomer, of which a photograph appears in this volume, and for a memorial fund, which will hand on his memory, we fear, much more lastingly than this filial tribute. The author, indeed, deprecates harsh criticism by a preface intimating that he has done his best; especially he regrets that, not possessing his father's fund of learning, he has not felt sure of various classical phrases and names. From some misprints, he tells us, he was saved by the intervention of a more scholarly friend. It is a pity that he overlooked *Herodotus* for *Heraclitus*, on page 434.

Les Origines de l'Ancienne France. Par Jacques Flach. X. et XI. siècles. II. Les Origines Communales; La Feodalité et la Chevalerie. Paris. 1893.

ONE lays down the second volume of Prof. Flach's great work with a renewed feeling of gratitude to the author, but also with a sense of disappointment which it is impossible to avoid. This is not because the volume does not continue to exhibit the merits which we noted in the first. There is the same exhaustive study of the field; the same full and systematic presentation of the evidence; the same abundance of new and suggestive interpretation. But the new views of the author upon some important points are so revolutionary and so diametrically opposed to the first appearance of the evidence that the feeling which they excite on the first reading is one of distrust and hostile criticism, rather than of confidence that here, at last, we may be getting hold of a thread which will lead us through the tangled evidence to correct conclusions. It is impossible also to avoid the impression that M. Flach is admitting to some extent into this volume that metaphysical and theoretical interpretation of history which was so great a temptation to earlier French historians, but from which the younger school is so remarkably free; nor can we entirely shake off the suspicion that there is, in one particular at least, a less cautious and critical treatment of the evidence than we have been accustomed to expect from him. The reasons for these doubts will be indicated as the plan of the work is presented.

The first volume, issued in 1886, contained M. Flach's description of the disorganization of society in consequence of the decline of the Roman state and of the German invasions—a result to be seen in incomplete and incompetent states, and finally in the general confusion of the age when the Carolingian empire fell to pieces. This period contained the beginnings of later institutions in the temporary expedients adopted to avoid the worst evils of the times, as in the case of the feudal system, but its essential characteristics were insecurity and anarchy. No better picture of the political disorder of those days has ever been made than that in the first volume of this work. With the second volume, the third book in his plan, the author begins the study of the effort of society to reconstruct itself, to find in the débris of earlier institutions and in the new expedients of the preceding age the material out of which a new organization could be constructed as a starting-point of general order and security. In other words, this volume begins the attempt to depict the formation of the more important institutions of the later middle ages as they arose out of the political chaos of the tenth century under the pressure of necessity—the necessity for some sort of orderly government. This brief statement of the general plan is enough to show the great importance of this study by a scholar of such proved insight and usually of such careful inductive methods as M. Flach. It is, notwithstanding the qualifications above expressed, one of the most remarkable books of this generation, and one which no student of mediæval institutions can afford to neglect.

The first steps towards the reorganization of society the author finds in various forms of local or private organization, formed to meet local or individual needs, but gradually taking on a public character. These are the rural commune, the urban commune, and the feudal system. In studying the origin of the rural commune M. Flach attacks with new arguments the supposition of Fustel de Coulanges that the village community did not exist among the Franks—a supposition already abundantly disproved by other investigators. It is interesting to notice that from his examination of the early evidence he arrives at a conclusion strikingly like that reached by Prof. Earle and stated in the Introduction to his 'Land Charters,' viz., that the *villa* and the community constitutions existed together. There is no indication of any knowledge of Mr. Earle's suggestion, and the evidence studied is entirely different, so that the similar conclusion is reached by an independent investigation. This theory in its general features—some points of detail being still in need of elaboration—is undoubtedly the most satisfactory yet proposed. In the opening chapters on the urban commune the condition of the cities during the earlier middle ages—in the transition period between the Roman municipalities and the communes proper—is examined, and a clear idea is given of the divided character of authority and of the great diversity of right and privilege in the cities at the beginning of the communal movement. These are both mat-

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ters of great importance in relation to the later history of the cities, but they are usually omitted from the account.

Up to this point this volume is entirely in line with the first, and we can only be grateful to the author for the fresh treatment and the new material. It is when he begins to consider the origin of the communal constitution that serious doubts first arise, and they continue with each new subject to the end of the volume. He attacks, indeed, the reigning German theory of the development of municipal institutions out of market privileges with evidence that must be considered, at least for France; but he regards the special communal constitution as an outgrowth from a single one of the private corporations—merchant or trade guilds—which obtains a controlling influence in the city and so becomes a public corporation. This is not the old theory of the development of municipal institutions out of the guilds advocated by Wilda and his followers. It hardly seems so probable as that at first sight; and the essential difficulty, how the single guild obtains control and is transformed into a public corporation, is not clearly overcome. The history of the early stages of feudalism was one of the most valuable parts of the first volume. The later history of that institution in this volume contains the author's most revolutionary and most doubtful theory. He supposes that from the tenth to the thirteenth century the personal element, the vassal relation, remained the leading feature of the feudal system, as it had been in the preceding age, and that only later the land element, the fief, became important. This point M. Flach has certainly not proved, and his treatment of the evidence on the subject cannot be called impartial. One can hardly avoid the conclusion that he has been led, unconsciously in all probability, to this special theory regarding feudalism by the influence of his fundamental theory, that the private, and so later the public, organizations of this period are based upon the family, that they are an application of the family idea to organizations beginning in a time of otherwise entire disorganization. This theory seems to have influenced also his study of the commune, and it is certainly open to the charge of being metaphysical and à priori rather than the result of careful induction. The author considers very briefly a fourth form of organization, chivalry, and reserves for later treatment the King and the Church.

This volume is remarkable, like the first, for its full quotation of the sources, many of them never before printed. It brings into frequent use also a new body of evidence, the *chansons de geste*. These may certainly give us more light than they have hitherto been made to yield, if used with care, but it is open to question whether M. Flach has not in some cases taken as a trustworthy statement of a fact of the tenth century something which is in reality only the twelfth-century poet's idea of what the fact was or what it ought to have been.

It may be remarked in closing that the French are as great sinners as the Americans and English in the matter of wood paper—a fact which bids fair, in a couple of centuries, or even less, to make the present-day documents of these nations as rare as those of the tenth century, and their scholarship as difficult to prove.

Der Cicerone. Von Jacob Burckhardt. Sechste Auflage, bearbeitet von W. Bode. Leipzig: E. A. Seeman. 1893.

THE 'Cicerone' appears this time in four volumes, the fourth containing nothing but the well-planned index of places. The 'Cicerone' is well known as the best companion the student can find for a leisure hour in Italy. As a connected account of Italian art, it is lucid, tactful, and suggestive; as criticism of individual artists or single works of art, it is appreciative, interpretative, and rarely fails to find "le mot juste." Burckhardt, as might be expected from the author of the 'Civilization of the Renaissance,' criticises without reference to the Catechism, and without pretence of being able to say precisely what colors an artist had on his palette while painting a given picture. His purpose is to connect the art of the Renaissance with the thought and feeling of the time, to show to what an extent the art is the product and expression of the civilization.

The merits of the 'Cicerone' were recognized long ago, and the section on painting was translated into English by Mrs. Arthur Hugh Clough. More recently a complete French translation has appeared. But many important discoveries have been made since the first appearance of the 'Cicerone,' and later editions have been edited by Dr. W. Bode, who has attempted to bring the work up to date. Unfortunately he has turned the sections on sculpture and painting into a happy hunting-ground for theories and attributions which have but slight chance of gaining acceptance. The volume on painting in the new edition has been considerably improved by the acceptance of many of Morelli's discoveries, but Dr. Bode has rarely taken the trouble to acknowledge his debt to Morelli, while he goes out of his way to let us know where he considers himself superior. Originality at any cost seems to be Dr. Bode's plan in editing, and this leads him in a work not intended for specialists interested in the controversy, but for the public, to turn around, now that all critics have agreed that the "Fornarina" of the Tribuna was painted by Sebastiano del Piombo, and ascribe this picture to Raphael.

Instances like this could be cited in great number, but a word must be said about the index, which the editor presents with a flourish of trumpets. Pretending to give it greater fulness, he has crammed it with a number of items snatched hastily from Crowe and Cavalcaselle, or from his own note-books, having no connection whatever with the text of the 'Cicerone.' In the Archbishop's Palace in Milan, for instance, there is no picture in the least resembling Lotto, and it would be hard to account for Dr. Bode's finding there a "Madonna and Two Saints" by this master, if we did not happen to know that Crowe and Cavalcaselle had mistaken a copy in this collection after a Previtale for a Lotto.

No notice seems to have been taken of the changes in location of works of art that have occurred since earlier editions, and the number of misdirections and mistakes is still great. The Niccolò Alunno of Deruta has now been in the Perugia gallery for many years. Most of the pictures of the Vicenza churches were placed in the communal gallery long ago. The student, it is true, is no longer directed to Massa Marittima instead of to Massa Fermana in pursuit of Crivelli; but the new index mixes up Castiglione Fiorentino near Arezzo with *Castel* Fiorentino, near Siena. This example, taken at random, must suffice, but very many others could easily be presented. The 'Cicerone' deserves much better editing than the director of the Berlin Gallery has been pleased to give it. A translation of the entire work into English, carefully revised in accordance with the present state of connoisseurship, and indexed properly, is an enterprise worth suggesting to an enlightened publisher.

Japan. By David Murray, Ph.D., LL.D. [Story of the Nations.] G. P. Putnam's Sons.

IN appraising a new book on Japan—unless the author be a master of the language in both its archaic and modern forms—one has to look at the personality of the writer. If, to literary industry and skill in the arts of compilation, the author adds personal experiences that enable him in some degree to control and check his authorities, his work may be of peculiar value. In this instance the writer had good opportunities of studying the country and people, for he was during several years the honored and successful adviser of the Mikado's minister of education. There are here a firmness of touch and warmth of coloring which are lacking in the narratives of hasty tourists. There is especially that appreciation of perspective which is often exasperatingly absent from the sketches of those who give us "the real," or the æsthetic, or the religious or political Japan.

Holding closely to the idea of the *story*, Dr. Murray is unusually full in that part which deals with the times when clocks or almanacs were unknown in Japan. Not that he falls into the traps so nicely laid in the native literature, which is ridiculously full of the details of events alleged to have taken place a millennium before time was recorded, but which do so uphold the theocratic dynasty of the Mikados. On the contrary, being familiar with the work of Bramsen, Satow, Aston, and other punctureres of the bubbles of Queen Jingo, of Wani, the Korean teacher of the thousand-character classic, who in tradition made exposition of this document two centuries before it was composed, Dr. Murray refuses to find solid ground of history until the long-lived chiefs of the Yamato have had their day, and rulers of ordinary duration of life begin to reign. Yet, accepting the myths and legends as reflections of Japanese thought and representations in outline of history, he has selected with excellent taste and judgment the prettiest and most interesting portions of the narratives of the 'Kojiki' and other ancient compilations. In this respect Dr. Murray's book has peculiar value.

In telling the story of Japanese development during the middle ages, our author has the advantage which comes from utilization of the work of research done by the scholars who have filled that uniquely valuable treasury of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. A good long chapter is devoted to Toyotomi Hidéyoshi. It may be that this man, a parvenu, was the greatest in Japanese history; and so it seems from Dr. Murray's story. Yet until the life of the unifier Iyéyasu is written with that fulness of research, in both Japanese and English, which, for obvious reasons, has been lavished on Hidéyoshi, we must continue to believe that Iyéyasu was Japan's greatest son. The Tokugawa régime, the episode of seventeenth-century Christianity, the story of feudalism and the advent of Commodore Perry, are all treated luminously and with proportion; but in writing of the restored empire the author's pen perceptibly warms to its work. With the makers of New Japan Dr. Murray wrought face to face.

Having a mathematical and chronological mind, he has given us a work exact in its notes of time. Hence, in the appendix, besides lists

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of emperors and shōguns, we have the Japanese year, periods, and the laws of Shotoku Taishi, the lay-patron of Buddhism and promoter of education in the seventh century. In selecting illustrations, commendable care has been taken to avoid hackneyed material. There are several new pictures of decided interest, notably the portraits of Xavier, Perry, and the cabinet ministers in the seventies. As a rule, there is a creditable absence of slips of the pen and printer's mistakes. We note, however, the old spelling Saghalien, which is apt to put one syllable more than necessary in Saghalin; on p. 311, "Galowin," evidently a misprint for Golownin; and the repetition of the frontispiece picture of the great bell in Kiōto on p. 289. There are some statements which might have been more fully and clearly made had other interesting items been conjoined with those given. Yet the book, as a whole, reminds one rather of a well-turned casting for which there has been superabundance of metal, or of a gem from which much has been cut in making the facets, rather than of a work for which material has been lacking. Within the limits imposed by the series of which it is a part, this book stands as a good piece of honest workmanship, besides being thoroughly enjoyable.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Barlow, J. Bogland Studies. 2d ed., revised and enlarged. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.25.
Black, W. Stand Fast, Craig-Royston! Harpers.
Crockett, S. R. The Stickit Minister, and Some Common Men. Macmillan. $1.50.
Dartnell, G. E., and Goddard, Rev. E. H. A Glossary of Wiltshire Words. London: English Dialect Society; New York: Macmillan.
Elton, Oliver. The First Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus. London: David Nutt.
Gosse, Edmund. The Letters of Thomas Lovell Beddoes. London; Mathews & Lane; New York: Macmillan. $2.
Howlett, E. Driving Lessons. R. H. Russell & Son.
Keltie, J. S. The Statesman's Year-Book for 1894. Macmillan. $3.
Kroeh, Prof. C. F. How to Think in German. Hoboken, N. J.: The Author.
Le Gallienne, Richard. English Poems. London: Mathews & Lane; Boston: Copeland & Day.
Leonard, Rev. W. A. The Witness of the American Church to Pure Christianity. James Pott & Co. $1.
Mellé, Miss Rosine. The Contemporary French Writers. Boston: Ginn & Co. 85 cents.
Norton, Prof. C. E. Orations and Addresses of George William Curtis. Vol. III. Harpers. $3.50.
Porto, Luigi da. Juliet and Romeo. Boston: Joseph Knight Co. $1.
Putnam, G. I. On the Offensive; An Army Story. Scribners. $1.25.
Schulenburg, A. C. Graf von der. Die Sprache der Zimshian-Indianer in Nordwest-America. Braunschweig: Richard Sattler; New York: G. E. Stechert. $15.
Springsteed, Anne F. The Expert Waitress. Harpers.
Stoddard, Rev. C. A. Beyond the Rockies. Scribners. $1.50.
Testa, T. G. del. L'Oro e l'Orpello. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 25 cents.
Thayer, Prof. J. B. Cases on Constitutional Law. Part I. Cambridge: C. W. Sever.
The *Critic*, July-December, 1893. The *Critic* Co.
The Gospel according to Peter: A Study. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.
Wilde, Oscar. Salome. London: Mathews & Lane; Boston: Copeland & Day.
Williams, Dr. C. T. Aero-Therapeutics. Macmillan. $2.
Wilson, H. A. The Gelasian Sacramentary. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.

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